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Developing a method of training for cross-cultural effectiveness.

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DEVELOPING A METHOD OF TRAINING FOR CROSS-CULTURAL EFFECTIVENESS

A Dissertation Presented

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ABSTRACT

Consideration of the problems that occur when educators from one cultural background interact with students of another cultural background gives rise to an original conceptualization of the dynamics which are set up when two different cultures interact. This concept of "virtual cultures" is used as a basis for developing a method of training for cross-cultural effectiveness that can be applied to enhance the inter-group effectiveness, as well as the cross-cultural effectiveness, of participants.

Several modules of the training program were applied with small groups of participants. A variation of the semantic differential was used to assess the impact of the training on the participants. While the evaluation did not yield conclusive data, it did indicate several areas for future inquiry. They are:

1. The full training program needs to be conducted with a significantly large and stable group of participants.

2. The semantic differential evaluation instrument needs to undergo further testing to determine its validity and reliability.

3. Additional evaluation instruments should be developed to determine the long-range, as well as the short-range, effects of training.

4. Some means should be developed to measure the correlation between personality factors (especially motivation) and cross-cultural effectiveness.

5. Procedures need to be developed for training those who would facilitate cross-cultural training.

6. Additional training modules should be devised to encourage motivation towards effectiveness in cross-cultural situations.

DEDICATION

To Jolanda: who somehow attended to the needs of a house and four children while supplying me with the love, attention and nudges that made this study happen.

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INTRODUCTION

Central to the concern of this study are the dynamics which occur at the interface of two cultures, particularly the dynamics set up when a school which is grounded in the value structure of one culture attempts to educate students of another culture. From his own experience as a teacher in an overseas American school, the author has seen the deep problems of cultural identity that can arise when the culture of the school ignores the culture of the student.

Apart from the author's personal experience, the changing attitudes among America's minorities indicate the need for recognition and closer study of problems occurring at cultural interfaces. Blacks and other minorities are beginning to take pride in their special cultures and are beginning to demand that their special history and heritage be recognized. With the advent of ethnic awareness it is no longer possible for schools and other institutions to cling to notions of assimilation, to the premise of the melting pot. The traditional role the school system had fulfilled--training citizens for assimilation--since the early days of the 20th century is being challenged by minorities who seek, indeed demand, that the school curriculum include material and experiences relevant to their heritage,

contributions and sacrifices. Richard Margolis makes the point vividly in an essay on Puerto Ricans in the public schools:

> On the floor of an elementary classroom in the Bronx is painted a large, colorful map of Puerto Rico. The teacher says, "Now everyone stand on the place where he came from," and there is a noisy scurrying of feet in the direction of Ponce, San Juan, Arecibo and Caguas.
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> The self-evident proposition that a child should know where he comes from, and be able to stand on it, dawned on most school systems only recently and is just beginning to make headway. [1]

As ethnic groups increasingly insist upon the legitimacy of their own unique heritages, it is clear that schools must recognize and deal with the diversity of cultures represented by their students.

It is the author's opinion that though some steps have been taken to relate education to the culture of the students, many more steps must be taken. Some of the faces in the basal readers have been tinted black and brown, for example, and reading lists now include the life of Martin Luther King along with the old standbys--George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Daniel Boone. While some small steps have been taken to diversify course offerings to reflect

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[1] Richard J. Margolis, "The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools," in Teaching Multicultural Populations, eds. James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971), p. 156.

the background of the students, rather little has been done in the area of training or re-training personnel to be effective in working with students of different cultures. The need exists for procedures by which educators and other personnel can be trained in cross-cultural effectiveness. The major purpose of this study is to help fulfill this need.

Definition of Terms

While a considerable effort has been made to write this study in clear, unmistakable English, two terms require special attention, as they are used repeatedly throughout the study and are central to its full understanding. They are defined below.

Cross-Cultural Effectiveness: Ability to enter, be trusted by, and appreciated by cultures different from one's own. Also, the ability to mediate cross-cultural conflicts should they occur.

Virtual Culture:[1] The image of another culture that one culture elaborates from its own perspective and projects upon the other.

The Problem for Investigation

Stated in the broadest terms, the problem under investigation in this study is: How can the cross-cultural effectiveness of educators

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[1]The term virtual culture was coined by the author to describe an imaginary entity. In the same way that the virtual image created by a lens or mirror system is unreal in that it cannot be projected on a screen, the virtual culture, likewise, exists as a figment.

and other personnel be enhanced. In investigating the problem, the hypothesis is made that training procedures can be developed to improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants. As a first step toward proving the hypothesis, the author has conceptualized an original approach to cross-cultural training and has developed and tried out some modules of a training program based on this approach.

Significance of the Study

The most recent efforts in the area of cross-cultural training have been directed towards making participants aware of their own cultural values and the limitations presented by those values in cross-cultural interaction. The premise appears to be that awareness of one's own ethnocentricity will motivate one toward overcoming ethnocentricity in cross-cultural dealings. While not discounting the importance of cultural self-awareness, the author regards as the primary element in cross-cultural awareness the images or definitions (virtual cultures) that one culture projects upon another. Accordingly, he has conceptualized an original approach to cross-cultural training which builds upon the notion of virtual cultures. The first order of significance of this study lies, therefore, in the originality of this concept.

Apart from offering an original conceptualization of cross-cultural training, the study presents a set of training modules designed to stimulate growth in awareness of cultural assumptions and impart skills

in working in cross-cultural situations. These modules represent a start toward realizing the author's conceptualization of cross-cultural training. As such, they add to the meager knowledge presently available on cross-cultural training techniques. This addition can be regarded as the second level of significance of the study.

Organization of the Dissertation

Essentially, the dissertation consists of three parts: 1) theoretical background; 2) review of cross-cultural training procedures; and 3) testing of the author's training program. The theoretical background is presented in Chapters I and II. It is drawn largely from anthropological and psychological literature, especially that which concerns perception. In Chapter III existing procedures of training for cross-cultural effectiveness are described. Also, in this chapter the state of the art of cross-cultural training is discussed. In Chapter IV the author's training program and its application are described in considerable detail, and the instrumentation for evaluating the effect of the training is presented. In Chapter V the results of the evaluation are displayed and interpreted. Chapter VI discusses the recommendations and conclusions implied by the findings.

Limitations of the Study

There are two types of limitations to this study: 1) the parameters

within which the study is defined, and 2) the limitations imposed on the study by conditions external to it.

Parameters

For the purposes of this study, the two parties who form any cross-cultural interaction are considered to be an agent and a host culture. We are concerned solely with the training of the agent to work effectively in the host culture. We are not concerned with training en masse large numbers of people from one culture to successfully interact with large numbers of people from other cultures, nor are we concerned with training the host culture to be receptive to the agent.

Limitations

The study presents a new concept of training for cross-cultural effectiveness and describes a month-long training program based on this concept. While the training program has been taken on a shakedown cruise, as it were, to eliminate its most obvious problems, it has not yet been fully applied and evaluated. Clearly, the study would be enhanced by full application of the training program. While approaches were made to several groups in an effort to apply the complete training program, the author, unfortunately, did not command the position power or the resources sufficient to assemble a group of trainees and require their participation for a month of training. Until such time as these

resources are available and a full application of the training program is possible, the study is limited.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND - THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The concept of training for cross-cultural effectiveness rests on several basic assumptions. The first assumption is that cultures differ, that they are distinct from one another. Secondly, it is assumed that apart from their distinctive features, different cultures also share commonalities, and it is these commonalities that facilitate the building of bridges between cultures. Lastly, it is assumed that effectiveness in bridging gaps between cultures is possible and that, moreover, this effectiveness can be acquired through training. A major purpose of this introductory chapter is to examine these assumptions under the light of anthropology in an effort to see how anthropological thinking might help substantiate these assumptions. It is expected that this examination will be illuminating in other ways, too. In studying and compiling data on many diverse cultures anthropologists have had need to develop techniques and principles for categorizing data and comparing cultures. Where appropriate, these principles will be used to generate a set of guidelines and a definition of culture as aids in developing a process of training for cross-cultural effectiveness.

The field studies of anthropologists abundantly illustrate the great variety of activities through which the world's cultures demonstate their uniqueness. For example, the German greeting requires a handshake, whereas in America a simple "Hi" is considered sufficient. The Swiss greet each other with "Gruezi," and sometimes accompany the verbal greeting with a handshake. In Morocco,custom requires that the greeter inquire not only into the welfare of the person being greeted but also into the welfare of all members of the extended family. When two Moroccan males meet, the verbal exchange is accompanied by (and sometimes replaced by) a handshake which requires that at the separation of hands one either touch his fingers to his lips or place them briefly over his heart.

Activities, Categories and Ends

These examples illustrate an important principle--while the specific form of greeting differs from culture to culture, the act of greeting is common among cultures. That is to say, while the specific form of an activity differs from culture to culture, categories of activity are common to all cultures. Operating from this principle, George Murdock[1] has developed a taxonomy of over

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[1] George P. Murdock, "The Common Denominators in Cultures," in The Science of Man in the World Crisis, ed. R. Linton (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1945).

one hundred categories of activities shared by all cultures known to history and ethnography. Among the categories he lists are: sports, ethics, feasting, ethnobotany, games, gift-giving, folklore, family, hospitality, kinship nomenclature, magic, mourning, obstetrics, puberty customs, sexual restrictions, weaning, and weather control. Murdock's work indicates that in terms of activities,cultures share commonalities while retaining distinctiveness. These findings apparently support the first two assumptions cited above, viz. that cultures differ and that, though different, cultures share commonalities.

In producing his taxonomy, Murdock has made a useful distinction between activities and categories of activities, where the activity is culture-specific and the category is culture-shared. The model can be expanded to include ends, which are culture-general. That is to say, the activities of a culture do not operate in a void; they fulfill some purpose, or end, which is important to the culture. Propagation of the culture is one such important purpose.

The activities specific to a given culture might differ markedly from the activities of another culture. In each case the range of activities is limitless. The categories, however that encompass the various activities are common to many cultures. They serve, therefore, as a basis for comparing cultures. The concept of ends provides an even broader basis upon which cultures can be compared

because the number of ends that any culture intends to achieve through its activities can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In essence, we are talking about numbers. The number of activities manifested by cultures is limitless. The number of categories that these activities fall into is less numerous. The number of ends that cultures intend to achieve through exercise of their activities is very small. In short, cultures are distinguished one from another by means of their unique activities and can be compared on the basis of common categories of activity. A still more common basis of comparison is provided by consideration of the ends of cultural activity.

Several anthropologists have written about the ends of cultures, frequently in defining culture from the point of view of process. Spindler, for example, defines culture comprehensively ". . . as a patterned system of tradition-derived norms influencing behavior."[2] Spindler appears to suggest that one important end to all cultural activity is that of "influencing behavior." Beals,[3] who has written extensively about the process of cultures and cultural systems identifies five ends operating in all cultural systems: the regulation

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[2]George D. Spindler, Education and Culture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 6.

[3]Alan R. Beals, George D. Spindler, and Louise Spindler, Culture in Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

of membership (the rules that define insiders and outsiders), the changing of status (through individual initiative, or by consensus), the transmission of culture (through the school, or through the clan), the control of behavior (by shame, or by guilt), and the changing of the cultural system (evolutionary or revolutionary). Viewing cultures and cultural systems from the point of view of process and ends greatly aids cross-cultural study for the significant reason that a small number of ends such as those identified by Beals are general to all cultures. The value of a model that has a small number of moving parts, as it were, lies in its usefulness as a framework within which cultural differences can be explored and different cultural perspectives examined.

In this regard, Stewart[4] has developed a system of concepts to aid in identifying cultural patterns and values for the purpose of constructing workable cross-cultural training procedures. He postulates four areas of cultural expression. These are: form of activity, form of social relations, perception of the world, and perception of self and the individual. While these are not ends as the term is used above, they are similar concepts and provide

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[4]Edward C. Stewart, American Cultural Patterns: A Cross Cultural Perspective (Pittsburgh: Regional Council for International Education, 1971).

equally useful guidelines for investigating cross-cultural effectiveness. The following incident, reported by Stewart[5], is offered as an illustration of the relationship between a specific cultural pattern and larger culture-general concepts. In this case the concept is view of self. The example also shows clearly how the American perception of self and the individual is expressed via patterns of language.

Mr. M.'s Perception of American Ways

Mr. M. came to America from Greece. He spoke Greek, German and French, but not English. Thus he joined an English class. One day the instructor was declining the verb "to be" and had written the various forms on the board:

I am

you are

he is, etc.

Mr. M. remarked that, so far as he know, English was the only language that capitalizes the first person pronoun to the exclusion of the other nominative pronouns. To him, this feature of the language reflected the intense individualism characteristic of American culture.

Mr. M. noticed another aspect of the American self in the

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[5]Ibid., p. 82.

frequent use of the possessive "my," in the sense of "drinking my coffee"; "my house," and "my reaction." This artifact of English suggested to Mr. M. that the American self is endowed with significance mainly through association with things and acts in the world, as if the self exists locked in solitude and requires the external world to animate it and give it meaning.

Comparing Commonalities

The third assumption stated at the beginning of this chapter suggested that "effectiveness in bridging gaps between cultures is possible and, moreover, that effectiveness can be acquired through training." It would appear that cross-cultural effectiveness is possible, particularly if cultural differences and similarities are examined on the basis of common ends, such as the cultural ends suggested by Beals or the culture-general concepts suggested by Stewart. The assumption that effectiveness can be acquired through training remains unsubstantiated. Indeed, it is the objective of this study to substantiate this assumption.

Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Effectiveness

It was stated at the outset that one of the purposes of this chapter was to use some notions from anthropology to develop a

set of guidelines and a definition of culture applicable to determining a process of training for cross-cultural effectiveness. The definition of culture that best serves comparative or cross-cultural investigation is one which considers culture as a system or process and which, moreover, collects a multitude of cultural activities under the umbrella of a few categories or fewer ends. The system of ends suggested by Beals serves admirably as the basis for such a definition. Debts acknowledged, "culture" as the term is used throughout this study is defined as the system of understandings unique to any human group of any number of persons greater than one and of any temporality, where these understandings comprise means for: 1) definition of self; 2) definition of the world; 3) regulation of membership; 4) definition of roles; 5) definition of status; 6) transmission of values; 7) control of behavior; and 8) alteration of the existing system. In addition to serving as a semantic anchor in the ensuing discussion, the above definition suggests two important guidelines for thinking about interaction among cultures.

In the first instance, while the elements of the definition apply to all cultures, it is clear that each culture would manifest each element uniquely, which is to say that every culture is unique and self defined. The first guideline is, therefore:

> Be cognizant that every culture
> has self definition.

Secondly, while most of the elements of the definition concern activities internal to the culture, there is only one element which treats of concerns external to the culture--"definition of the world." This element is of special importanct to cross-cultural interaction, since a culture, in defining the world, will define other cultures. This crucial point serves as the basis for the second guideline:

> Be cognizant that cultures, in defining the world, place definitions upon each other.

In following these guidelines we are led into the territory of cross-cultural definition and interaction. It is the work of subsequent chapters to explore this territory.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND - PSYCHOLOGY OF PERCEPTION

This chapter has three related purposes. The first is to examine some of the significant literature in psychology that concerns perception, especially as perception operates on reality. The second is to explore the possible applications of psychological findings to cross-cultural interaction. The third purpose is to define the parameters of the problem of cross-cultural effectiveness.

Perception and Culture

In a study by Goodman and Bruner, reported by Nicholson,[1] poor children consistently perceived coins to be larger than their actual size, whereas children of the well-to-do demonstrated perceptions of the coins which more closely matched the measured sizes of the coins. The findings of the Goodman-Bruner study raise two important points pertinent to cross-cultural understanding--the effect of perception on reality and the effect of reality on perception.

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[1]Clara K. Nicholson, Anthropology and Education (Columbus: Merrill, 1968), p. 41.

The purpose of this section is to explore the literature on perception that addresses these points in an effort to provide secure footing for subsequent steps toward understanding problems that occur when persons of one culture perceive persons of a different culture.

Behaviorism Won't Do

For much of this century psychology has been dominated by behaviorism, a theory of psychology which emphasizes the direct observation of responses of organisms to external stimuli. This theory rests on the reflex arc concept[2] and uses the reflex as the basic unit of investigation. The behaviorist depends upon the reflex in much the same way as the physicist uses the atom as a unit of inquiry. Skinner explains the importance of the reflex--"The isolation of a reflex is the demonstration of a predictable uniformity in behavior. In some form or other it is an inevitable part of any science of behavior . . . A reflex is not, of course, a theory. It is a fact. It is an analytical unit, which makes the investigation of behavior possible."[3] The behaviorist is concerned almost exclusively with an

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[2] stimulus → receptor → afferent nerve → connective fibers → efferent nerve → effector → response.

[3] B. F. Skinner, The Behavior of Organisms (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1938), p. 9.

organism's response to externally applied stimuli. What goes on inside the organism is considered by the behaviorist to be unimportant. What occurs inside the organism is for our purposes, however, vitally important, for, whether biologically or culturally determined, the "set" of one's internal patterns or expectations affects one's response to a given stimulus. In considering the effect that cultural experience has on one's perception of reality, the more fruitful route is supplied by that school of psychologists that concern themselves with what occurs inside the organism.

Maps and Minds

In contrast to the behaviorist model of stimulus and response, another school of psychologists postulates that the organism constructs an internal plan of its environment and compares incoming data to this plan. The various writers of this school, whom I shall call cognitists, use various terms to name the plan ("schema," "simulacrum," "cognitive map," and "Image"). They maintain that "the effect an event will have upon behavior depends on how the event is represented in the organism's picture of itself and its universe."[4]

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[4] G.A. Miller, E. Galanter and K.H. Pribram, Plans and the Structure of Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), p. 7.

That is to say, the cognitive map of the organism[5] mediates the relation between stimulation and response; the organism acts on the stimulus before responding to it and, in some instances, produces stimuli. The following remarks by Karl Pribram summarize the cognitist view: "Stimuli are thus neurally determined events, 'sampled' on the basis of a central competence (a neural 'set') which is in turn determined by prior experience and other central events."[6]

Recent advances in neurosurgery, microelectrode implantation, and computer simulation have made possible some significant findings on the operation of the nervous system. These data support the cognitist theory in that they indicate the existence of neural processes that allow the organism to compare sensory stimuli with an internal field of neural activity. The studies and findings are presented below.

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[5] "Organism" is defined in general as a being capable of constructing a response to input from its environment. The organism referred to hereafter includes the human, although the experiments reported were performed with frogs, dogs, cats or monkeys as subjects.

[6] Karl H. Pribram, Languages of the Brain (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 264.

Orientation and Habituation

In an important experiment performed in Moscow, Eugene Sokolov[7] presented a tone of constant intensity, pitch and duration to a dog and recorded the subject's electroencephalographic, galvanic skin, and plethysmographic responses. At the beginning of the experiment changes occurred in these measures, indicating that the dog was orienting to the tone. After some time, however, these indices of the orienting response lessened until apparently the tone no longer affected the dog. When this occurs, the subject is said to have habituated. Sokolov then reduced the tone's intensity. Once again the dog oriented.

Prior to Sokolov's experiment, the widely accepted view defined habituation as some kind of fatiguing of neural elements at thresholds. According to this view Sokolov's subject, having habituated to a tone of given intensity, should not have oriented to a less intense presentation of the same tone. Sokolov reasoned that sensory input is compared with some pattern set up by the central nervous system and that any change in input would therefore elicit an orienting response. To test this hypothesis Sokolov presented a

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[7]Eugene N. Sokolov, Perception and the Conditioned Reflex (New York: Macmillan, 1963).

shortened tone to a subject who had habituated to a long tone. The dog oriented, and the orienting response occurred at the end of the shortened tone. Clearly, the dog was orienting to the unexpected silence.

Sokolov's conclusions are supported by the findings of J.Y. Lettvin et al. These experimenters observed that some nerve cells in a frog's optic lobe show activity whenever a new object is placed in the frog's visual field. The activity diminishes rapidly, however, if the object stays in the field or is regularly moved in and out of the field. These experiments provide important support for the cognitive map notion. Commenting on Sokolov's and similar experimental conclusions, Pribram states: "Experimental evidence shows that, at any moment, current sensory excitation is screened by some representative record of prior experience; this comparison--the match or mismatch between current excitation and representative record--guides attention and action."[8]

Support from Geneva

Before continuing the trek through neuropsychological research, it would be useful to examine the relation between the primary

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[8] Pribram, op. cit., p. 49.

hypothesis of cognitive map theory and the basic notions of Piaget's "genetic epistemology;" for there is a striking resemblance between the notion of an internal cognitive map, and the internal schema postulated by Piaget.

Hans Furth, long a student of Piaget's theories, offers a summary of the Piagetian approach: "His biological notion of an organism in constant interaction with its milieu is a rather commonplace notion, one would think; but this view has for Piaget the special implication that development and evolution are seen as intrinsic characteristics of the biological knowing process and not as events outside of the process. On the level of the theory of knowledge, this notion corresponds with the thesis that knowledge is neither solely in the subject, nor in a supposedly independent object, but is constructed by the subject as an indissociable subject-object relation."[9]

Piaget starts with the adapting organism in an environment and defines adaptation as "an equilibrium between the action of the organism on the environment and vice versa."[10] Continuing with a biological model but applying it psychologically, Piaget observes

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[9]H.G. Furth, Piaget and Knowledge (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 19.

[10]J. Piaget, Psychology of Intelligence (Patterson: Littlefield, Adams, 1963), p. 7.

that every living being does not passively submit to its environment but rather "modifies it by imposing on it a certain structure of its own."[11]

The transformations which occur in the organism through interaction with its environment are called accommodations, whereas, assimilation is incorporation of environmental objects into established patterns of the organism. The definition of adaptation applied to psychological phenomena therefore becomes: "equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation."[12] A caterpillar eats a leaf, for example. The caterpillar in eating the leaf assimilates it while accommodating to it. This is biological adaptation. A child sees a red leaf and likens it to a sunset. He has assimilated the leaf and has accommodated his existing mental structures to the experience of seeing the leaf. This is psychological adaptation. "Psychological life, on the other hand, begins, as we have seen, with functional interaction, that is to say, from the point at which assimilation no longer alters assimilated objects in a physico-chemical manner but simply incorporates them in its own forms of activity."[13] When used

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[11] Ibid., p. 8.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

to describe the reaction of a subject to some change in his physical environment, the terms orientation and accommodation are interchangeable. Piaget's term, however, is also used to describe the differentiation of existing internal structures, a purely cognitive process. In this application, the terms are not equivalent.

Neuropsychological data indicate a steady state in the organism that orients, then habituates, to changes in environmental stimuli. Piaget postulates an organism that both changes and is changed by environmental inputs. Though arrived at via very different methods of inquiry these formulations of the cognitive process are strikingly alike. Implied by both formulations is the existence of a steady state of activity within the organism that is impinged upon by inputs from the environment. Moreover, the steady state simultaneously modulates the activity while augmenting it. A number of pieces of neuropsychological evidence strongly support this implication. They are discussed below.

Physiological Evidence

Normal development of an organism is characterized by multiplication and growth of tissue cells. The brain is an exception, however; the number of neurons does not increase greatly after birth. Yet, it has long been observed, that the dendrites of neurons

thicken and branch out in the course of development of the organism.[14] But an exact correlation between an organism's experience and modification of its neural structure has long eluded persistent inquiry. Indeed, Karl Lashley was moved to remark: "I sometimes feel, in reviewing the evidence on the localization of the memory trace, that the necessary conclusion is that learning just is not possible at all. Nevertheless, in spite of such evidence against it, learning does sometimes occur."[15]

Most research in this area has concerned the transmission of impulses along the axons of neurons. The synaptic junctions between axons have been largely ignored, except in relation to their transmission function. New attention is being paid to these junctions, for a weak potential field is created by synapses during impulse transmission in axons. This potential field implies the existence of an additional factor in brain activity. Pribram suggests that this "slow potential microstructure" is the "screen" which represents the cognitive map of previous experience that axonal impulses (environmental inputs) are arrayed against.

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[14] J.L. Conel, Postnatal Development of the Human Cerebral Cortex. Vols. I-VI. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939-63).

[15] K.S. Lashley, "In Search of the Engram." In Society for Experimental Biology (Great Britain), Physiological Mech. in Anim. Beh. (New York: Academic, 1950), p. 501.

To Review

Before going on it would be useful to look back over the ground that has been covered thus far. Behaviorist psychology rests on the assumption that external stimuli cause responses in an organism; whereas the cognitist view is that the organism relates to its environment by comparing inputs from the environment against an internal representation of that environment. Stimuli are mediated by the organism, not just responded to. Considerable evidence supports the cognitist view. For example, the organism's demonstrated tendency to orient to some change in that input implies that the organism is monitoring data from the environment and constantly comparing these data to an internal representation of the environment. Moreover, the slow potential micro-field set up at synapses by axonal impulses holds great promise as the neurological analog of the internal representation.

Piaget's investigations have led to a very similar hypothesis, viz. internal structures of the organism determine which stimuli from the environment are assimilable by the organism. In Piaget's own words, "In fact, a response is a biological reaction, and contemporary biology has demonstrated that the reaction cannot be determined merely by outside factors but depends on 'reaction norms' which are characteristic for each genotype or each genetic pool. This fact

implies an indissociable interaction between interior structures and the stimulations of the external environment."[16]

The studies and literature reviewed above indicate that the organism constructs, through experience, an internal representation of its environment, and that this representation,or cognitive map , regulates the organism's subsequent interaction with its environment. A number of other neurological findings support this notion. They are reviewed below.

Surround Inhibition

Studies done on the primate eye show that a middle layer of cells in the retina generate a specific type of wave upon excitation of the retina. It appears that this wave activity feeds back and affects the excitation at a previous stage.[17] Moreover, maps of the visual field (made by measuring activity from a ganglion cell) indicate that the firing of these cells is either inhibited or enhanced by light falling on the receptive field. Apparently, the excitation of one locus of receptors inhibits excitation from surrounding receptors.

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[16] Hans G. Furth, op. cit., p. vi.

[17] J.E. Dowling and B.B. Boycott, "Neural Connections of the Retina; Fine Structure of the Inner Plexiform Layer," Quant. Biol., 30 (1965): 393-402.

Interestingly, this process of "surround inhibition" is also characteristic of the cochlear mechanism, skin receptors and the cerebral cortex.

It appears, therefore, that enhancement of contrast through surround inhibition and the reciprocal process of decrementing (fading of neural activity upon habituation) equip the organism to make successive comparisons of input patterns. The main point of this finding is that it demonstrates that the organism has the capability to use stimulation from the environment to affect its reception of subsequent stimulation--an important contribution to the cognitive map notion.

Input and Output Nerves

Behaviorist psychology holds that the pathways of the central nervous system consist of afferents (input nerves) and efferents (output nerves). Sensations are carried into the organism via afferents, and commands are sent to the muscles via the efferents. Anatomical scrutiny has shown, however, that one-third of the efferent fibers issuing from the ventral root in the spinal column end in specialized receptors called spindles. Electrical stimulation of these nerves (gamma fibers) at the muscle end fails to produce muscle contraction. Moreover, the stimulation elicits a reduction in the

spontaneous activity of the afferent system.[18] It appears extremely likely that the organism exercises central control over the afferent motor system via the gamma fiber system.

Since the gamma system findings, several experimenters have established that all sensory afferent systems are subject to control by the central nervous system.[19] Clearly,an organism is not a passive responder to stimuli from its environment; rather it has the capacity to alter and shape those stimuli.

That the organism can affect data from the environment before responding to it appears very likely. To go a step further, is there the possibility that the organism structures a plan of the about-to-be experienced against which actual input can be compared? Ever get your teeth jolted by mounting the step that wasn't there?

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[18] R. Granite and J.O. Kellerth, "The Effects of Stretch Receptors on Motoneurons," in Neurophysiological Basis of Normal and Abnormal Motor Activities, eds. M.D. Yahr and D.P. Purpura (Hewlett, New York: Raven Press, 1967), pp. 3-28.

[19] Touch - K.E. Hagbarth and D.I.B. Kerr, "Central Influences on Spinal Afferent Conduction," Journ. Neurophysiology, 17 (1954): 295-307. Auditory - R. Galambos, "Suppression of Auditory Nerve Activity by Stimulation of Efferent to Cochlea," Journ. Neurophysiology, 19 (1956): 424-37. Olfactory - D.I.B. Kerr and K.E. Hagbarth, "An Investigation of Olfactory Centrifugal Fiber System," Journ. Neurophysiology, 18 (1955): 362-74. Vision - D.N. Spinelli, K.H. Pribram, and M. Weingarten, "Centrifugal Optic Nerve Responses Evoked by Auditory and Somatic Stimulation," Exp. Neurology, 12 (1965): 303-19.

Projecting Expectations

In an experiment by Pribram, Spinelli, and Kamback[20] monkeys were conditioned to discriminate between visual displays of a circle and stripes. When the circle was projected on a translucent screen, the monkey was to press the right half of the screen. For the stripe display, he was to push the left half. Each correct response was rewarded with a peanut. Waveforms recorded in the visual cortex of the monkey indicated the following results: Before the monkey performed, the researchers were able to determine 1) whether he was attending to the circle or stripes; 2) which side of the screen he intended to push; and 3) whether or not he expected to be rewarded. These results present considerable evidence that the organism projects an expectation of his environment onto his sensory system.

Evidently the research cited above indicates that the nervous system of primates is organized to compare data from the environment with an internal reference system. When this comparison indicates a mismatch between the map and the data two results occur

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[20] K.H. Pribram, D.N. Spinelli, and M.C. Kamback, "Electro-cortical Correlates of Stimulus-Response and Reinforcement." Science, 157 (1967): 94-96.

silumtaneously: 1) the internal reference system (cognitive map) adjusts the incoming data to better fit with the organism's existing topography and expectations; and 2) the map of the organism is altered to accommodate to these fresh data. Pribram states the position succinctly, " . . . habituation is not an indication of some loss of sensitivity on the part of the nervous system but rather the development of a neural model of the environment, a representation, an expectancy, a type of memory mechanism against which inputs are constantly matched. The nervous system is thus continually tuned by inputs to process further inputs."[21]

A Cognitist's View of Cross-Cultural Interaction

Whether confined by caution or the insularity of their specialty, researchers of perceptual phenomena normally do not generalize their findings much beyond stating them. A refreshing exception is provided by Miller, Galanter and Pribram.[22] In considering the neuropsychological research they have come forth with an hypothesis about the organization of human intelligence. They venture a firm guess that human intelligence operates according

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[21] K.H. Pribram, Languages of the Brain (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 105.

[22] G.A. Miller, E. Galanter, and K.H. Pribram, Plans and Structure of Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

to the cognitive map model. I fully subscribe to this hypothesis. Essentially, the hypothesis is that a person uses his or her past experience to construct an internal map of his or her environment. The map influences both the information received by the person from the environment and the projections or expectations placed on the environment by the person. This hypothesis raises three points of vital importance to cross-cultural interaction:

1. Given that the map is generated from the fund of a person's past experiences, the map is largely culturally determined; for so long as a person remains in his or her culture the set of experiences that a person undergoes will arise from that culture.

2. Since the map influences the information that one receives from the environment, the information that a person receives from exposure to a different culture will be influenced (filtered) by a map which has been determined by his or her own culture.

3. Since the map also influences the expectations that a person projects upon his or her environment, a person's culture (as a determiner of his/her map) will influence the projections and expectations that he or she places on other cultures.

It remains to explore the implications that these points raise vis-a-vis cross-cultural interaction and to determine from such exploration a definition of the concept of cross-cultural interaction.

It is the purpose of the next section to undertake this exploration and to define the concept.

Imaginary Realness

Constance: Gabrielle has no right to do what she does. Do you know what she does? She invites people to come to tea with us. People who exist only in her imagination.

Countess: You think that's not an existence?

— Jean Giraudoux,
The Madwoman of Chaillot

The last section explored some of the salient literature in the field of perception formation and ended with the assertion (based on the literature) that one's map (internal representation of the environment) is largely determined by one's culture. Consequently, through the part it plays in determining one's map, one's culture greatly influences both the information that one receives from other cultures and the projections and expectations that one places on other cultures. The purpose of this section is to explore the above notion and through such exploration define the concept of cross-cultural interaction.

Important to this purpose is the understanding that in looking out upon the world one is unconsciously and unavoidably looking through the filter of his or her own culture. A person tends, therefore, to define the world from the point of view of his or her own culture. Moreover, since people are a part of the world, they, too, are subjected to this defining process even as they subject others to it. In other words, persons of one culture will use their own culture as the source of the definition that they place on persons of another culture. James Baldwin, one victim of definition by others, offers an angry illustration:

> I was not a 'nigger' even though you called me one. But if I was a 'nigger' in your eyes, there was something about you--there was something you needed. I had to realize when I was very young that I was none of those things I was told I was. I was not, for example, happy. I never touched watermelon for all kinds of reasons. I had been invented by white people, and I knew enough about life by this time to understand that whatever you invent, whatever you project, is you![23]

"Nigger," as the product of a white perspective, has realness not only for the perpetrator but for the victim. Baldwin's vehemence tells of the realness of this creation, this imaginary person; for from his earliest

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[23]James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers," in Teaching Multi-Cultural Populations, eds. J.C. Stone and D.P. DeNevi (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971), p. 83.

years Baldwin has had to contend with this false definition put on him by others.

In saying that he is not the person others defined him to be, Baldwin is saying more. His comments reveal that people create imaginary others (like Gabrielle's phantom tea guests), then consider their creations to be real. Indeed, it can be argued philosophically--and has been, at least since Descartes--that all which we call reality is actually a product of the mind. Descartes is reported to have remarked, "I understand by the sole power of judgement, which resides in my mind, what I thought I saw with my eyes."[24] The philosophical arguments for mediated reality vs objective reality have been sufficiently stated elsewhere and need not be repeated here. Moreover, the studies presented in the previous sections of this chapter indicate that the mind mediates sensory data to construct its particular image of reality. On the strength of these studies it is asserted that the definition we place on a people is to us the "realness" of that people. Of course, since the assertion also holds for the people who are being defined, their realness as defined by themselves very likely differs from the realness we assign to them.

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[24] Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), p. 565.

A second important assertion was aired in the concluding lines of the last section of this chapter. Essentially, it was that culture is a prime shaper of perspective; the reality that we construct is largely shaped by our previous experiences which, in turn, are largely determined by our culture. Building on the basis of these two assertions, it follows that the people of Culture A, for example, will define the people of Culture B in terms of Culture A; whereas the people of Culture B will define themselves in relation to their own culture. Interactions between Cultures A and B (given that Culture A differs from Culture B), therefore, will likely founder on the dissonance created by these two different definitions of the same "reality."

Virtual Cultures

Since every culture has a unique cultural perspective and constructs reality through its unique perspective, a given culture will, when viewing another culture, construct its own representation of the other culture. In effect it creates a "virtual" culture. Interactions intended to occur between two cultures will actually occur among the cultures and the representation that each culture constructs of the other. Figure 1 illustrates the concept of virtual cultures and the resulting system of interactions.

It shows two cultures in a position of interface.

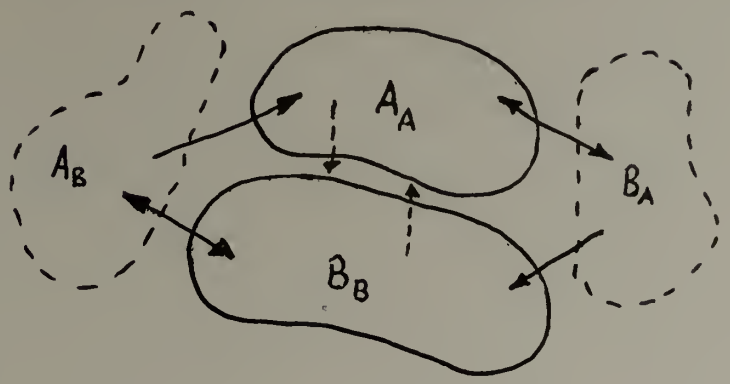

Fig. 1 Virtual cultures (broken lines) are created when two self-defined cultures interface.

A_A symbolizes Culture A as it defines itself, and B_B symbolizes Culture B as it defines itself. B_A is Culture B as defined from the perspective of Culture A, and A_B is Culture A as defined from the perspective of Culture B. Both A_B and B_A are virtual cultures and are so indicated by dashed outlines in Figure 1.

Cultural Interaction

The system of arrows in Figure 1 schematizes the interactions (actual and virtual) that occur among the actual and virtual cultures. The dashed arrows from A_A to B_B represent an attempt by Culture A_A to interact with Culture B_B. However, since Culture B_B exists to Culture A_A as Culture B_A, the interaction actually occurs between A_A

and the virtual Culture B_A (solid arrows). Culture B_B responds to the input from Culture A_A (delivered via B_A as indicated by the solid arrows from B_A to B_B) with an attempted interaction with Culture A_A, represented by the dashed arrows from B_B to A_A. But since Culture A_A is defined by Culture B to be the Virtual Culture A_B, the interaction actually occurs between B_B and A_B. Thus, according to the model presented here two interacting cultures deal not with each other but with the images of each other that each constructs.

Vietnam - A Problem of Virtual Cultures

By way of illustration, a contemporary cross-cultural problem--the war in Vietnam--is analyzed below as a problem of virtual cultures. The analysis is far from complete, yet it does offer a clear example of a definition placed on one culture by another.

The official American view of the situation in Vietnam constructs the image of a South Vietnam threatened by aggression from a communist North Vietnam. The fall of South Vietnam to the communists would spell similar doom for neighboring South-East Asian countries. The communist wave must therefore be stopped, by force, so that it does not engulf all of South-East Asia and establish an even greater threat to the Free World.

The assumptions underlying this view are that: 1) South Vietnam is a separate, integral and different country from North

Vietnam; 2) Communism is generated in North Vietnam and exported to South Vietnam; 3) South Vietnam is unanimous in its desire to repulse communist aggression and in its need for aid from the U.S. to do so, and 4) the problem of saving South Vietnam from communist aggression requires a military solution.

From these assumptions Americans have built a virtual South Vietnam--a country that is unanimously and valiantly but unsuccessfully trying to defend itself from communist aggression perpetrated by North Vietnam. Moreover, the aggression is military; armies from North Vietnam march down to conquer South Vietnam.

This is the imagined reality of Vietnam that American officials created, American media promulgated, and American people believed. It is a definition of Vietnam projected from an American perspective.

The Vietnamese image of the struggle is different. Much of Vietnamese culture is rooted in Confuciansim which teaches that Yin and Yang, opposing forces that constitute the cosmos, are at times balanced and at other times unbalanced. When Yin and Yang are balanced the cosmos has order. Traditionally, the emperor was the manifestation of this cosmic order; he held a mandate from heaven. And his representative, the mandarin-genie, performed the

sacred bond between the cosmic order and the society. The Vietnamese, however, blended traditional Confucianism with ancestor worship. To them the sacred bond lay with the spirits of the particular earth of their village. They believe that if a man moves off his land he leaves his soul buried in the earth with the bones of his ancestors; he leaves his "face," the social position on which his "personality" depends.

From the beginning, the National Liberation Front based its program and methods on the traditions and culture of the Vietnamese peasantry. For example, in the old idiographic language of Vietnam the word xa, usually translated into western languages as village, joins inseparably the ideas of "land," "people" and "sacred." The NLF called their socialist program xa hoi. By incorporating the word xa into the name of their program, the NLF implied a continuation with the past. The message to the peasants was clearly that the revolution would respect their beliefs and would not require a traumatic abandonment of the village earth and ancestors.

Indeed, the NLF built and defended the revolution in the earth. From the villages NLF workers dug tunnels, sometimes for miles, to storerooms of war and medical supplies under the jungle. Important as they were for waging war, these tunnels and underground storerooms were equally important as a symbol of the relationship

between the villager and the earth of his ancestors. The villager is sustained by the land on which he lives--it provides his food and sacred shelter for his ancestors. The NLF paralleled the culture of the Vietnamese villager by concretely relating the revolution to the earth.

By basing its revolution in the villages, the NLF was able to define a virtual Vietnamese culture which closely matched the Vietnamese definition of themselves. By contrast, the American definition of the Vietnamese related, not to the Vietnamese, but to the American need to stop the spread of communism. Thus, the virtual Vietnamese culture created by the Americans was incongruent with the Vietnamese definition of themselves. In describing the invisibility of the enemy to American soldiers, Frances FitzGerald, who was the source of much of the above information on Vietnamese culture, offers a clear statement of this incongruency:

> In raiding the NLF villages, the American soldiers had actually walked over the political and economic design of the Vietnamese revolution. They had looked at it, but they could not see it, for it was doubly invisible; invisible within the ground and then again invisible within their own perspective as Americans. The revolution could only be seen against the background of the traditional village and in the perspective of Vietnamese history.[25]

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[25]Frances FitzGerald, Fire in the Lake (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972), p. 143.

Implications of Virtual Cultures

Returning now to the theoretical presentation of virtual cultures, we see that the model presented in Figure 1 differentiates the two cultures into Cultures A_A, B_B, A_B, and B_A. All of the interactions possible among these four cultures are arrayed in Figure 2.

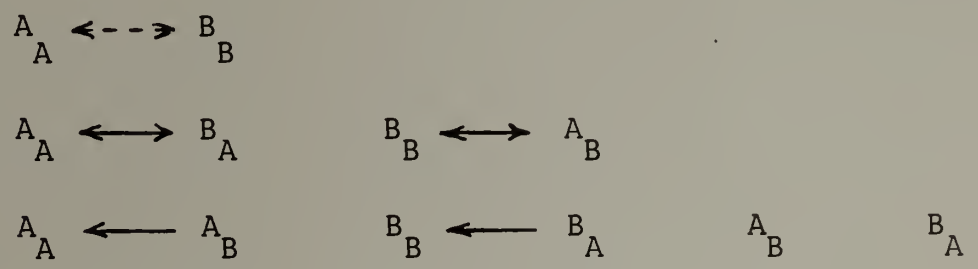

Fig. 2 Virtual interactions (dashed arrows) occur between actual cultures. Actual interactions occur between actual and virtual cultures (solid arrows). Actual cultures can only communicate through virtual cultures of their own creation (one-way arrows). No interaction occurs between two virtual cultures (no arrow).

As illustrated by Figure 2, interaction effectively occurs only at the interface of an actual culture with a virtual culture. Interaction occurring across any of these interfaces implies that each interacting

culture is cognizant of how it and the other culture are defined by each. Figure 3 isolates the implications of each theoretically possible type of interaction.

INTERACTIONS	IMPLICATIONS
$A_A \leftrightarrow B_B$	A_A knows how B defines itself. B_B knows how A defines itself.
$A_A \leftrightarrow B_A$	A_A knows how it defines B. B_A neither knows nor defines, is virtual.
$A_A \leftarrow A_B$	A_A knows how B defines it. A_B neither knows nor defines, is virtual.
$B_B \leftrightarrow A_B$	B_B knows how it defines A. A_B neither knows nor defines, is virtual.
$B_B \leftarrow B_A$	B_B knows how A defines it. B_A neither knows nor defines, is virtual.
$A_B \quad B_A$	A_B neither knows nor defines, is virtual. B_A neither knows nor defines, is virtual.

Fig. 3 Implications of interactions among actual and virtual cultures.

The implications arrayed in Figure 3 come down to two types: 1) how a culture defines itself, and 2) how a culture is defined by another

culture. It seems, therefore, that cross-cultural communication and effectiveness require both knowledge of how a different culture views itself and knowledge of one's own culturally determined ways of viewing the other culture.

The Central Problem of Cross-Cultural Effectiveness

The foregoing discussion attempts to establish that in cross-cultural interactions the parties to the interactions deal with the images they construct of each other. The central problem in cross-cultural effectiveness is therefore defined as the need for cultures to minimize the effects of virtual cultures in dealing with each other.

Approaching the Problem of Cross-Cultural Effectiveness

Whereas many materials and methods (to be reviewed in Chapter III) purport to facilitate cross-cultural effectiveness, the vast majority aim at informing non-members about the history, patterns and mores of a given culture. While useful, necessary, and long overdue, these approaches supply but a part of the need. They supply information on a culture's view of itself.

Proposed here is a different way of dealing with the problem of cross-cultural effectiveness, a way which approaches the problem from the standpoint that creation of virtual cultures is the primary impediment

to cross-cultural effectiveness. In other words, while book-learned knowledge of the mores of another culture is useful to one's understanding of another culture and while one's contact with another culture can also be useful to understanding another culture, neither approach (nor both together) is sufficient to cross-cultural effectiveness. Both approaches assume, in one instance, a tabula rosa state of mind in the person who seeks to learn about or make contact with another culture. In the second instance, these approaches assume that any preconceptions would be set straight through knowledge of or contact with another culture. Regarding the first instance, it is simply naive to assume that preconceptions don't exist, most especially in situations that one knows nothing about. Regarding the second instance--just as the forest cannot be seen for the trees, one's preconceptions of a culture are invisible to one looking at the culture through those preconceptions.

All of the above is to say that the starting point of training for cross-cultural effectiveness lies in establishing awareness of preconceptions--awareness of the virtual cultures one constructs out of the material of his/her own perspective. For only when one is aware of his/her preconceptions can one usefully apply experiences toward changing erroneous preconceptions.

Summary

A theory of perception formation is presented which hypothesizes that an organism in interacting with its environment generates a map or internal representation of the environment. The map functions as a filter--it alters data impinging on the organism from the environment and regulates the expectations that the organism projects on the environment. Assuming that this model presents a valid explanation for the organization of human intelligence, it is applied in the context of cross-cultural interaction. Considering that one's map is shaped by experience and that one's own culture is the primary source of one's experiences, it is concluded that one's map is culturally determined. Thus one filters incoming information through his or her own cultural perspective and defines the world and its people from this perspective creating "virtual" cultures. The problem of cross-cultural interaction is defined in terms of interaction among virtual and actual cultures. Becoming aware of the virtual cultures that one creates is the initial requirement of cross-cultural effectiveness. The central problem in cross-cultural effectiveness is therefore defined as the need for cultures to minimize the effects of virtual cultures in dealing with each other.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Training for Cross-Cultural Effectiveness

After a forced march over the rough terrain of neuropsychological research and subsequent float into the abstract realm of virtual cultures, we come, in this chapter, to middle ground--to a consideration of methods of training for cross-cultural effectiveness. The concluding remarks of the foregoing chapter defined the basic problem of cross-cultural interaction as the tendency of a culture to define other cultures from its own perspective and suggested that awareness of this tendency was the primary requirement of cross-cultural effectiveness. The purpose of the present chapter is to investigate the literature pertinent to cross-cultural effectiveness and to offer some observations on the state of the art of training for cross-cultural effectiveness.

The vast bulk of the literature which describes cultures and cross-cultural relations consists of studies prepared by anthropologists and other social scientists in which the customs, values and mores of foreign cultures are described. While these studies provide interesting data on how a given culture appears to

function (from the point of view of an observer who is not a member of the culture being observed), they provide very little in the way of specifying methods that might be used to increase the effectiveness of interaction between cultures. Thus, while anthropological field studies are interesting and frequently fascinating, they are peripheral to the central concern of this study.

Applied Anthropology

In the area of applied anthropology, however, there exists a body of literature that concerns and indeed stresses the importance of cultural patterns as they affect and are affected by efforts to transfer technological innovations from one culture to another.[1] These works, while they do not suggest specific methods of training for cross-cultural effectiveness, do emphasize the need for the change agent to be sensitive to the cultural patterns of the population with which he or she is working. The following advice, from Arensberg and

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[1] Especially: Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971); Margaret Mead, ed., Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (Paris: UNESCO, 1953); George M. Foster, Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962); Benjamin D. Paul, ed., Health Culture and Community (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955); Charles J. Erasmus, "An Anthropologist Looks at Technical Assistance," vol. 2 of Readings in Anthropology, ed. Morton H. Fried, 2 vols. (New York: Crowell, 1959), pp. 386-403.

Niehoff, is representative:

> Thus, it is suggested that traditional culture be treated as something which exists and that it needs to be taken seriously on purely pragmatic grounds; by ignoring it, the change agent merely reduces the chances for successful innovation. Moreover, the local cultural system needs to be taken into consideration throughout a project--early, in order to select the innovation; and later, during the interaction period, to adapt it to local customs.[2]

These sources have provided background information useful in defining the problem of cross-cultural interaction. Description of particular methods of cross-cultural training lies, however, under other stones.

Anthropological Field Study

The field procedures that govern the cultural anthropologist's method of observing in and reporting on a particular culture have been used by some investigators in developing methods of training personnel in cross-cultural effectiveness. Essentially, these field procedures cast the anthropologist in the role of participant-observer. He or she studies a culture by immersing him/herself in the patterns and processes of the people's daily lives. In this manner the field

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[2]Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), p. 133.

worker gains an intimate knowledge of a culture. Ruth Landes[3] reports a training project which was based largely on anthropological field procedures. In the project white teachers in Los Angeles public schools were trained to be more sensitive toward the needs of their black and Chicano students by a training procedure which required the teachers to learn about the culture of their students through direct observation. By studying the black and Chicano cultures first-hand (through home visits and interviews) the teachers were able to replace their ethnocentric preconceptions with more accurate perceptions of the students and their home culture. The Landes' project, while it enjoyed considerable success, is only narrowly generalizable as a cross-cultural training method.

In the first instance, the project was designed to increase the cross-cultural awareness of a specific group working in a specific context. Since the goal of the project was to solve a specific problem rather than to evolve a set of training procedures applicable to a class of problems, it would be unfair to the intent of the project and prejudicial to its results to assume that the anthropological field study techniques used by Landes can be applied accross the board to the training of any group in cross-cultural

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[3]Ruth Landes, Culture in American Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).

effectiveness for any context.

Moreover, the project was longterm, operating for more than a year. There was ample time to assess the impact of the methods employed (relative to the specific group undergoing training) and to alter these methods to attain optimum fit with the needs of the training group. Such luxury of time is not normally available in training personnel for cross-cultural effectiveness.

Intercultural Communication

Several researchers from a variety of disciplines have been attracted to the fledgling field of intercultural communication. While the major thrust of the field is toward working out better methods of counseling foreign students, some writers in the field are developing methods of training for cross-cultural effectiveness.

Bryant Wedge,[4] for example, has built a systematic model for training leaders in cross-cultural interaction. It appears that this method borrows a great deal from the techniques of anthropological field study.

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[4] Bryant Wedge, "Training for Leadership in Cross-Cultural Dialogue; The DA-TA Model of Learning and the SAXITE System of Dialogue," vol. 1 of Readings in Intercultural Communication, ed. David Hoopes, 2 vols. (Pittsburgh: Regional Council for International Education, n.d.), pp. 85-109.

Building upon the notion that permanent and effective learning occurs only through doing, Wedge postulates that attaining skill in cross-cultural interaction must begin with a dialogue initiated by a person of one culture with persons of a different culture or community. The purpose of the dialogue, as stated by Wedge, " . . . is to bring the trainee up against the reality of culture (sic) differences and social communication barriers through his own action."[5] He calls this experiential phase of training "Demonstration: Action," or "DA." After the initial experience in the field, or Demonstration:Action phase, the trainees reconvene to share their problems and observations and attempt to arrive at some generalizations which might explain the events of their field experience. Wedge calls this follow-up procedure "Theoretical Analysis" and shortens the term to "TA." Thus, the DA-TA model (Demonstration : Action leading to Theoretical Analysis) requires that the trainee evolve theories of cross-cultural interaction from his or her own experience of interaction with a different culture. Moreover, the model calls for constant interplay between experience in the culture (DA) and generalizing about that interaction (TA). That is to say, after theorizing from his or her first experience, the trainee re-enters the chosen culture to test his or her theories

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[5]Ibid., p. 91.

and alters them in the light of subsequent experience. This interplay between experience and theory is repeated until it becomes for the trainee a self-sustaining spiral.

Wedge greatly emphasizes the process aspect of intercultural dialogue, and, in describing the communication process, identifies six sequential phases--scouting, access, exploration, interest-interaction, termination, and evaluation. He calls this six-phase system by the acronym SAXITE. A brief description of each phase follows, presented in Wedge's own words where appropriate.

> Scouting involves the entire process of preparation to enter the chosen community. It is a kind of overview of the terrain to be traversed in dialogue. By processes of walk-around, consultation, reading, map-study and language study a preliminary impression of the location, demography, history, economy and social boundaries is developed. Whenever possible, such scouting should be on-site; one of the greatest impediments to genuine dialogue is knowledge about a community gained from sources outside of the community.[6]

Access. Using the information gained from scouting in the community the trainee determines all the steps that he or she will take in initiating dialogue with the community. "Access" refers to these steps. In describing Access, Wedge offers some useful

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[6] Ibid., p. 100.

advice:

> The point of entry into a given community depends on the structure of communication patterns. Hierarchical communities require approval at the top, relational communities require approval via middle-level gatekeepers, consensus communities at the base level. In any case, acceptable formalisms are determined by the social culture of the host community, never by the guest.[7]

Essentially, during the Access phase the trainee resolves the problem of presenting him or herself to the host community in acceptable and comprehensible terms. To paraphrase Wedge:

> Why are you there? What do you want? What is your status vis-a-vis the host community? How long will you stay? These are the preliminary questions which must be satisfied on first contact and which set a framework for dialogue. The technical challenge of access is to see that these questions are answered with rigorous honesty on first contact and in a manner that fits the forms and terminology of the local culture.[8]

Exploration. After the Access phase has been successfully negotiated there follows Exploration. In this phase the interests, conceptions and concerns of the host community are identified. Wedge advises strongly that this identification come from within the community--"The question is never 'How can we induce change?'

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[7] Ibid., p. 101.

[8] Ibid., p. 101.

but always, 'What does the community want?'"[9] The basic rules of successful exploration are those of successful communication. There must be a "two-way exchange of signals." The trainee must be alert to feed-back from the community regarding his or her message, and his/her style of communication must be acceptable to the host community. The trainee must adhere, moreover, to his or her role as an acceptable outsider.

Interest-Interaction. During the Interest-Interaction phase the trainee and the host community define problems of joint interest and together work out the processes of joint endeavor. At this point the interaction between the trainee and the host community has reached a degree of trust that allows the creation of a mutual territory, a shared set of concerns. In other words, successful Interest-Interaction defines an area of cooperation that is not totally in the province of one culture or the other, but lies between the two.

Termination. As the trainee's involvement with the host community draws to a close the dialogue enters the Termination phase. The trainee, who should anticipate the endpoint from the moment of entry, must clearly define the terminal point of his or her direct participation and the limits of his or her future commitments.

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[9] Ibid., p. 103.

Evaluation. As a minimal requirement, the trainee's experiences in the host community are evaluated through systematic de-briefing. Preferably, the trainee should keep a journal of his/her impressions and experiences; evaluation could then be based on a cumulative record of the dialogue and its results.

The DA-TA, SAXITE model of training leaders for effective intercultural communication has been described in considerable detail. While it can be reasonably assumed that a number of procedures have been and are being employed to improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of teachers, students, missionaries, military and other government personnel, these procedures have not been set down in any replicable form.[10] For this reason, the DA-TA, SAXITE model has been reported with special attention.

The Wedge model is one of two that has been systematized and set down in writing. The other systematic model has been

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[10]To the author's personal knowledge training for cross-cultural effectiveness is occurring at the Missionary Orientation Center, Stony Point, New York and at the School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont, not to mention the vast number of locations that prepare Peace Corps volunteers for service overseas. These programs are of considerable interest and worth; unfortunately, however, they are not systematized and cannot be replicated.

developed by Edward Stewart.[11] It is described below.

The Contrast-American Role Play

Observing that " . . . a basic problem in intercultural interaction is the limitation in perspective imposed by one's own culture, and the common tendency to feel that one's own values and assumptions are absolute rather than derived from one's cultural experience,"[12] Stewart, et al. developed an experiential training method which is designed " . . . to increase cultural sensitivity and awareness, and thereby increase the behavioral adaptability and communicative skills of the overseas advisor."[13]

Briefly, the method combines role playing and simulation techniques. One of the role players is the trainee, and the other is an actor who has been trained to exhibit values which contrast strongly with American values. This "Contrast-American"plays opposite the trainee in a scene which simulates a realistic cross-cultural situation (an American military advisor conferring with his Vietnamese

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[11] Edward C. Stewart, Jack Danielian, and Robert J. Foster, Simulating Intercultural Communication Through Role-Playing (Alexandria: Human Resources Research Office, George Washington Univ., 1969).

[12] Ibid., p. v.

[13] Ibid.

counterpart, for example). In playing out the scene the American trainee inevitably and unconsciously demonstrates the values and assumptions of American culture, while the Contrast-American purposely interprets each event from the point of view of one whose values differ markedly from American values. Moreover, the description of the scene and the instructions given to the trainee prior to his/her participation in the simulation carefully avoid any content that might motivate the trainee toward a solution of the confrontation based on the situation alone. Rather, the description of the scene and the explanation of the trainee's role are purposely sketchy, the assumption being that the trainee will thereby exhibit behavior and attitudes which reveal his or her cultural conditioning. Stewart explains: "The net effect of this tactic is to initiate a discussion under the impetus of the trainee's internalized cultural predispositions, rather than under an externally induced situational motivation."[14]

The following excerpt from an actual simulation dialogue offers a clear example of the type of interaction that is likely to occur between the American trainee and the Contrast-American:

> One of the scenes was designed around the topic of leadership. During one of the simulations of this scene, Captain Smith,

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[14] Ibid., p. 29.

the American role-player, tried to persuade the Contrast-American I, Major Khan, to take measures to improve leadership in his battalion. Captain Smith found fault with some of the techniques utilized by some of Major Khan's second lieutenants.

American: And I know that . . . if they are allowed to continue, then the efficiency in the duties that they're performing, or their soldiers are performing, will be reduced.

Contrast-American: What kind of duties are they performing which are not good?

A: They have an inability, I think, to communicate with the noncommissioned officers and to properly supervise the accomplishment of the task. They almost have the attitude that this work is the type of work which they should not take part in; they should merely stand by and watch. I know you have a big respect for General George Washington and I should point out this example. One time during the War for Independence, there was a sergeant with some artillery pieces which were stuck. He was standing by, very neat and clean in his uniform, cajoling his soldiers as they looked at him, and shouting for them to push harder to get this cannon out of the mud. General Washington rode by on his horse, noticed this situation and stopped. His rank was not showing, for he had a large cape on over his uniform; it was rather cold that day and had been raining. He asked the sergeant what the problem was, and the sergeant told him, "Sir, the soldiers cannot get this cannon out of the mud." Then General Washington dismounted from his horse, walked over and assisted the soldiers in pushing the cannon out. Afterward he walked over to the sergeant and said, "Sergeant, tell your commander that General Washington has assisted your men in pushing the cannon from the mud."

CA: Yes.

A: He was willing to assist his men and do anything that they were doing if it were really necessary.

CA: Perhaps if he were not in a disguise, not wearing a cape, if he were in his uniform of a general, he would never have come down from (dismounted from) the horse. He would have waited there as a general.

A: I think--

CA: --people would have gotten extra energy while pulling that cannon, they would have looked at him, that big, tall, towering general setting on a horse, they would have looked at him and derived all inspiration and strength from him, and then pulled out the cannon without his assistance. His very presence would have been enough.

A: Perhaps this may have taken place. However, I think the point that he was trying to make, the same point that I'm trying to make, sir, is that many times the presence of an exalted ruler or an officer is adequate, but other times it is not. As you have pointed out on several occasions, I have assisted with my hands on this project, because the situations there, I thought, just required help. I don't think that it lowers the opinions of soldiers, of officers in the eyes of soldiers, if the officer gives them some assistance on occasion.

CA: Yes, I agree, but you see, Captain, one thing leads to another. You start with a small thing. The moment we resign to it, we say oh, it doesn't matter, it's such a negligible thing, it won't make much damage to my soul, my virtuous life. The moment you give in one place you know, it grows. It grows, yes.

A: Do you think helping soldiers on occasion could perhaps damage your virtuous life?

CA: No, today do that, tomorrow you do a larger concession to something else, you lose your integrity and virtue as an individual. You're not doing justice to your person, to your position, to your status.[15]

Following the live simulation, an interview is conducted with the trainee and auxiliary during which the interviewer probes for perceptions, motives, intents, judgments, and feelings--first of the trainee, then, separately, of the auxiliary, who remains in his role as Contrast-American. Stewart reports that frequently the interview interaction provides as fruitful examples of cultural assumptions and values as those produced by the simulation dialogue itself.

While the precise line of questioning differs from one training situation to another, the interviewer follows a loose format in each post-simulation interview. His first objective is to elicit the trainee's perception of his/her counterpart--how the trainee has perceived the motives and rationale of the Contrast-American. The next phase of the interview attempts to elicit from the trainee evaluative comments about his or her accomplishments. In the specific episode cited above, the trainee was asked to evaluate the effect of the George Washington anecdote on the Contrast-American. On a more general

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[15] Ibid., pp. 30-32.

level, the trainee is then asked to evaluate the Contrast-American and to predict the type of relationship that would enable the two to work together in the future. Finally, the trainee is asked to put him/herself in the place of the Contrast-American and to describe the situation, the events that transpired and him/herself as perceived by the Contrast-American.

The last stage of each training session is devoted to analyzing the examples of cultural contrast that arise during the simulation and interview phases. For example, analysis of the trainee's presentation of the George Washington anecdote in the dialogue recorded above would reveal that in American culture emphasis is placed on equality rather than status, and that effective leadership is willingness to pitch in to see that the job gets done. Moreover, it would be pointed out that these values contrast sharply with the belief that leadership is irrevocably part of one's person or status, the view expressed by the Contrast-American.

The model developed by Stewart, et al. has been described in considerable detail, for a search of the literature reveals that it is the only systematic replicable model of cross-cultural training in existence that has undergone some evaluation. Using a set of four experimental tests designed to measure cognitive, conative (behavioral)

and affective awareness, investigators were able to show (through pre- and post-testing) that " . . . for many trainees the simulation exercise was an effective means of increasing cultural awareness at the emotional as well as at the intellectual level."[16]

The State of the Art

In considering the state of the art of cross-cultural training the first observation is that the field is less an art than a folk art. While several organizations and agencies are doing training and are involved in working out more effective methods of conducting and evaluating training, there is little organized, published knowledge available. The written material that exists does so in the form of mimeographed papers, monographs and in-house documents.

Of the several organizations and agencies with involvement in cross-cultural training, the most significant is, of course, the Peace Corps. Important work in the area is also being conducted by the Army and Navy. Additionally, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) is vitally concerned with improving the intercultural communication skills of foreign student advisors. Operating on a less grand scale is the Missionary Orientation Center,

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[16]Ibid., p. vi.

Stony Point, New York and The School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont. While it is difficult to generalize about these programs, several valid observations can be made about their apparent evolution.

In the early days of Peace Corps training volunteers were provided with information about the culture they were to enter. Usually, this information was delivered by experts (university-based scholars) on the host culture. Language training was also an important part of the training as was briefing by personnel who had served in the host country. The cross-cultural training conducted by the Army and Navy largely paralleled the Peace Corps model. The emphasis in "area studies" was on information about the host culture and training in the language of the host culture.

It was found, however, that these training procedures were ineffective. Even though the volunteers had prior knowledge of the host culture and skill in the use of the host language, many were unsuccessful in living and working in the host culture. As a result of these early failures there evolved new training procedures which placed greater emphsis on the participation of the trainees themselves. This move to experience-based training procedures was apparently prompted by the realization that cross-cultural effectiveness is not so much a function of information as it is a function of awareness--

awareness of one's own cultural values and the values of the host culture. These recently developed training procedures strive to make the trainees aware of their own value systems in the hope that through this awareness the trainee will become more adept in dealing with situations where his or her values differ from those of the host culture.

The two cross-cultural training programs described earlier in this chapter--the DA-TA, SAXITE method developed by Wedge and the Contrast-American role play developed by Stewart--have as their objective the creation of trainee awareness of his or her own system of values. Moreover, both methods recognize that the experiential mode works well as a means for surfacing values. In its own way each method involves the trainee in a prolonged experience in which he/she is required to focus constantly on his or her values and on the contrast between them and the values of the host culture.

The author's training program is based on the concept of virtual cultures. In effect, the position is taken that cross-cultural effectiveness must begin with awareness of the definitions that one people places on another. While these projected definitions (virtual cultures) are rooted in a culture's value system, they are not synonymous with it; if we become aware of our own values, it does

not necessarily follow that we will also become aware of the definitions that we place on others. Stewart and Wedge seem to place emphasis on awareness of one's own values. The author places emphasis on awareness of the definitions that one people places on another. In this important respect, the author's training program differs from those reported above.

In the next chapter the author's training program is described and its implementation presented as a research problem. Predictions are made about the effectiveness of the program, and means for assessing its effect on participants are derived.

CHAPTER IV

DESIGN OF RESEARCH

The last chapter closed with a brief mention of a training procedure that was designed to improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants. The assumptions which provided the rationale for the procedure are contained in the notion that the basic impediment to cross-cultural effectiveness is a phenomenon called virtual culture--the image that one culture, from its particular perspective, constructs of another culture. Thus the training procedure has as its initial objective the sharpening of participant's awareness of virtual cultures. Overall, the training procedure is intended to improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants by:

1. sharpening their awareness of the existence of virtual cultures;
2. sharpening their awareness that virtual cultures impede cross-cultural effectiveness;
3. sharpening their abilities to define elements of, and impediments to, cross-cultural effectiveness;
4. sharpening their abilities to minimize impediments to cross-cultural effectiveness.

The intent of the present chapter is to describe the development of this training procedure, its application, and evaluation. In order

to do so, the chapter is divided into three main sections--Development, Application, and Evaluation. The first section describes the historical development of the training modules. The Application section consists of two parts. The first derives and makes operational the formal proposition that serves as the basis for investigating the effectiveness of the training procedure. In the second part of this section, the context of training is examined in terms of characteristics of the trainees, length of time they underwent training, and training modules utilized. In the Evaluation section, the means used for evaluating the effect of the training on the participants is traced and the method of its application described.

Development of Training Modules

The training modules were developed with two basic criteria in mind. First, the modules had to involve the participants experientially, for the interpersonal nature of cultural interaction requires trainee involvement. Listening alone is insufficient.[1]

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[1]Edward Stewart makes the point succinctly in discussing the development of his training method--"Experience has indicated that changes in the attitudinal factors that underlie interpersonal behavior are seldom accomplished by traditional lecture-type training. Consequently it was desirable to use an approach that would give rise to strong personal involvement by using the spontaneous behavior of the trainee as the training vehicle or content." Simulating Intercultural Communication, p. v.

The second criterion requires that the content of the training modules be supplied from the trainees' own experiences, both past experiences and those that the trainee has during training. This criterion relates to the point made earlier in this study, that the starting point of training for cross-cultural effectiveness lies in establishing awareness of preconceptions--awareness of the virtual cultures one constructs out of the material of his/her own perspective. Taken together the two criteria establish that training modules must be experiential and must derive their content from the trainees' experiences, past and present. Having established the criteria we can now turn to the modules themselves.[2]

Effective Cross-Cultural Worker. This module requires that participants describe the set of attitudes and behaviors which characterize the outsider who would be accepted by their culture and would be effective in influencing its processes. The Effective Worker module does this by asking participants to fantasize individually a situation in which a person from outside their culture is working effectively within their culture. The participants then describe in minute detail on paper the actions, attitudes, demeanor, and appearance of the person in their fantasy. In the second step of the exercise, the

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[2]The modules, as presented to the trainees, are displayed in Appendix A.

participants repeat the above procedure, this time fantasizing a person working ineffectively in their culture. In the last phase of the exercise, the participants share with each other the descriptions they have developed in the first two steps.

This module appears to meet the criteria established above. In the first instance, it clearly requires that the participant respond from within his or her own realm of experience. Moreover, the module is experiential; it sets up a context, but the events which occur within the context result solely from action by the participants.

The Effective Worker module was designed to serve two objectives: 1) to introduce participants to the cross-cultural training program, and 2) to demonstrate cultural relativism. Essentially the module offers participants the opportunity to surface the factors that they feel underlie effective cross-cultural behavior. When considered as an introductory exercise, the module, in effect, presents the facilitator with a list of behavioral factors that the participants deem important to cross-cultural effectiveness. The facilitator can then use this list to build agenda for subsequent training. The Effective Worker module can also be used to illustrate vividly the difference between one culture's definition of the effective cross-cultural worker and another culture's definition of the same agent. It is highly probable, for example, that participants from a culture that strongly values achievement (e.g.,

American culture) would agree that ability in accomplishing the task at hand is an important attribute of the person who would work effectively in their culture. It is just as likely, however, that participants from a culture which stresses "being" over "doing" would argue that the attribute of high status is more necessary to cross-cultural effectiveness than high task orientation. When used with a group of participants from different cultural backgrounds, the module would probably elicit the expression of contrasting cultural values. In this sense, the module could be employed as an aid in demonstrating cultural relativism.

The training program begins with the introductory Effective Worker module which provides participants with an opportunity to define cross-cultural effectiveness in terms of specific behaviors. In the second phase of training, participants work with a set of modules that was developed to help trainees surface their cultural assumptions. These modules are described below.

Surfacing Cultural Assumptions

The modules that are intended to be used to make participants aware of their cultural assumptions comprise Pitfall, So That's Who I Am, Washingtonville, and the Cross-Cultural Analyzer.

Pitfall. This exercise is basically a board game played with dominoes. It was originally developed by the author to demonstrate

the concept that successful learning depends not only on what is presented to the learner but also upon what is acceptable to the learner. The board resembles the ring in a game of marbles. Inside the ring is the learner, outside is the environment. The participant feeds pieces to the learner from the environment. The initial set of rules governing acceptance by the learner of dominoes presented from the environment are given, as are the assumptions about the learning process that these rules entail. Participants are asked to play the game by the given rules once or twice to familiarize themselves with the game. They are then asked to make up their own rules for playing the game and to explain the assumptions which underlie the new rules they have established.

The objective of Pitfall is to sensitize participants to the assumptions they make about others. The exercise does this by requiring the participants to make decisions concerning their treatment of a learner, then to examine the assumptions which underlie their decisions.

So That's Who I Am. This module is an exercise in victimization. Participants, as a group, are asked to consider themselves as comprising, for that moment, a culture. A message is delivered to them from outside the culture. (The message is actually a copy of a newspaper advertisement for a how-to-cure-yourself book.) The message makes a large number of assumptions about the participant

and his or her values. Working individually, each participant lists all the assumptions he/she can find. Then, working in small groups, the participants share and discuss the assumptions that were noted. After about twenty minutes of small group work, the participants reconvene and report their findings. The facilitator lists these findings on newsprint. This list results in a composite definition of the participants--a definition that they have perceived but have had no part in shaping. In the discussion period which wraps-up this module, the participants are asked to comment on the accuracy of the composite definition, and, in particular to indicate whether it describes them as they see themselves. Also, they are asked to express their feelings about being defined by someone outside their culture. At the close of the module, the facilitator re-states the problem of victimization as the process by which one's existence, or some aspect of it, is defined by another. The participants and the facilitator then explore examples of victimization from their own knowledge and experience.

The objective of the So-That's-Who-I-Am module is to sensitize participants to the process by which virtual cultures are created--the process of definition by others. The module accomplishes this objective by putting participants in the position of being defined by someone outside of their own group.

Cross-Cultural Analyzer. The prototype of this module was developed by the Peace Corps to help trainees begin to focus on

differences between their own culture and the culture they will be entering. Basically, the exercise is a paper-and-pencil instrument consisting of a list of thirty-two attitudes, with a nine-point scale for rating each. The trainee first rates his/her own culture on each attitude, then rates the host culture, and finally indicates where his/her own position is concerning each attitude. For example, item sixteen is "Attitude toward 'change'." The rating scale on this item runs from "Possible with effort" to "Impossible to achieve."

While the exercise itself has been borrowed from the Peace Corps, its purpose as a training module has been adapted significantly by the author. The Peace Corps uses the exercise to focus on similarities and differences between American and other cultures; the author uses it to focus discussion on the danger and difficulty of ascribing a "typical" position to any culture. Thus the message generated by the module is a function of the ease or difficulty that participants experience in doing the exercise.

The objective of the Cross-Cultural Analyzer module is to help participants to see that any attribute that they might ascribe to a culture different from their own is a product of their own perspective. The module achieves this objective by requiring that the participants make judgments about cultures different from their own, then attempt to reach consensus on these judgments and examine the reasons behind any difficulties which might occur.

Washingtonville. In developing this role play, the author made an effort to create a situation in which each participant must become someone else, the role play character. The descriptions of the role characters are purposely brief, so the character created by the participant is a product of his or her own assumptions. In addition to the four role players, the exercise requires four observers. Their job is to monitor carefully the interaction that occurs among the role players. At the close of the role play session, the facilitator discusses the events of the role play with the participants. The discussion follows a carefully structured sequence: First, the role players are asked to comment on the assumptions which they consciously brought to the roles. They are also asked to express their feelings and the difficulties they experienced in playing the roles. The role players are then encouraged to discuss the assumptions that they felt they were making about each other. In the second and last phase of the structured discussion, the observers report the assumptions that they felt surfaced during the role play. In doing so, they follow roughly the same format that the role players used. That is, the observers first describe the assumptions that they felt each participant was making in creating his or her role character. They then isolate the assumptions that they believed the role characters were making about each other. It frequently occurs that the observers additionally discover that the

participants have made several fundamental assumptions about groups and persons who are outside the context of the role play--a valuable windfall of additional data.

The objective of the Washingtonville role play is to help participants to examine the assumptions, especially the subconscious assumptions, that they make about others. The module does this by asking the participant to display behavior which he or she feels is characteristic of the role. A team of observers then comments on the assumptions that came to the surface in the participant's role characterization.

Objective of the Exercises

The training modules--Pitfall, So That's Who I Am, Cross-Cultural Analyzer, and Washingtonville--share the single purpose of making participants aware of cultural assumptions. Generally, this is done by establishing awareness of virtual cultures and the process of their creation. Specifically, it is done by helping participants to surface their own cultural assumptions. While the exercises differ in form, they are similar in intent. The overall objective of these modules is the creation of the understanding that awareness of virtual cultures is the initial requirement of cross-cultural effectiveness. In this regard, application of the exercises is intended to meet the first two

objectives of the training program, which are: 1) sharpening participants' awareness of the existence of virtual cultures; and 2) sharpening participants' awareness that virtual cultures impede cross-cultural effectiveness.

Modules Vis-A-Vis Criteria

Before leaving this set of exercises, it is necessary to discuss them in relation to the criteria established at the beginning of this section. According to the criteria established at the beginning of this section, the effective training module must involve the participant experientially in some way and must use the participant's own experience (either past or that which he/she undergoes during training) as the content of training. The exercises described above appear to meet these criteria. Each exercise sets up a situation which requires a response by the participant; the situation elicits the response but the participant defines the response. Thus, while participants are called upon to act within the context set by the exercise, the participants' actions supply the content of the exercise.

Skill Building

In addition to the awareness-building exercises described in the foregoing section, the training program also includes three modules whose basic intent is to sharpen the participants' abilities

to define the elements of, and impediments to, cross-cultural effectiveness. In discussing these modules, we move from the realm of creating awareness of cultural assumptions to the realm of building skills in cross-cultural effectiveness.

Bridging Cultures

Imagine building a bridge across a river. If the bridge were to be built entirely from one bank, a massive cantilever structure would be necessary to span the river. If, on the other hand, the bridge were built out from both banks simultaneously, the structure and the job of building the structure would be simpler. In many ways bridging cultures is similar to bridging rivers. One could attempt to reach another culture by building out from one's own cultural base entirely; however, as has been repeatedly pointed out in this study, a bridge built in this manner will lead nowhere except to a virtual culture. Just as a real bridge is best built out from both river banks simultaneously, the metaphorical bridge that truly spans the gap between two cultures must grow out of each culture.

The effective cross-cultural worker can make bridges grow between cultures. He or she has the skills to effect interaction and communication between cultures. Essentially, the skills of the effective cross-cultural worker are very much like those of the

successful anthropological field worker. Whatever the context in which they might be applied, the skills are:

1. ability to gain entrance to the culture;
2. ability to gain and maintain acceptance by the culture;
3. ability to withhold judgment while observing and listening in the culture;
4. ability to discover the rules, relationships and viewpoint of the culture;
5. ability to identify and act upon problems which arise from interaction with the culture.

Skill-Building Modules

Three modules of the training program were developed by the author for the specific purpose of helping participants gain the skills listed above. These modules--Field Study, Critical Incidents, and Managed Action Program--are described below.

Field Study. This module requires that participants individually locate some culture outside of their experience with the intention of entering and observing that culture. A bowling alley, supermarket, women's liberation group, political club, day care center, poker club, mayor's office, classroom, etc. can serve as the culture to be entered and observed. Once each participant has identified the culture he or she intends to observe, he/she determines a procedure for entering the culture and presents it to the training group (participants

and facilitator) for feedback. In subsequent steps the participant enters the culture, observes, and reports back to the training group on the problems, experiences and insights that arose from his/her interaction with the culture. After several such in/out experiences the participants are required to map the culture, that is, construct the lines of influence and interaction that operate within the culture. In addition, each participant is asked to describe the view of the world held by the culture he/she has investigated. Anthropological field study techniques served as the basis for the development of this module.

Managed Action Program. Essentially, the Managed Action Program module, or MAP, is a creative problem solving technique that has applicability beyond its use as a cross-cultural training module. In fact, it was originally developed by the Parallel Planning Corp., a management consultant group, for use in industry.[3] Applied as a cross-cultural training module, MAP would be put to most effective use in helping participants to resolve the problems that they encounter in the Field Study and Critical Incident modules. The steps of the MAP procedure, while few and simple can be time consuming.

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[3] For a complete description of MAP see the author's "Managing the School System," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, 56 (November, 1972), 32.

In the first step, the participants are asked to report all of the problems that they experienced during cross-cultural interaction. The facilitator, meanwhile, lists on newsprint and numbers each problem as it is reported. It is important that the problems be reported in concrete terms, and frequently the facilitator must urge the participants to give more details.

Once all the problems have been surfaced and listed, the participants are asked to prioritize the list of problems. Initially, this step is very frustrating to the participants. With effective group maintenance, however, this frustration is turned into a positive force. As participants see the impossibility of prioritizing each problem, they begin to think in terms of groups of problems and relationships among the problems. When this point has been reached, the participants are able to identify coherent groups of problems and to prioritize the problems within each group.

After completing the prioritization, the participants move on to the last step of the MAP procedure. In this step, the original problems are turned around and considered as objectives. This is accomplished in the following manner. The participants address the first priority problem in the first priority group and determine among themselves what must be done to overcome that specific problem; they also decide which person or persons will be responsible for

resolving the problem. At the same time a target date for resolution is determined. The "what," "who," and "when" are then recorded next to each problem. Surprisingly, perhaps, this step is quickly completed, for it frequently occurs that with the resolution of a high priority problem several low priority problems are also resolved.

At the close of the module participants come away with a clear understanding of the problems they encountered in cross-cultural interaction. Moreover, they are provided with a scheme for overcoming those problems.

Critical Incidents. Problems and frustrations frequently arise from cross-cultural interaction, and in the crush of the moment, it is extremely difficult to adequately resolve the problems or cope with the frustrations. The Critical Incidents module uses the stressful situation as a training vehicle. Critical Incidents is based on the assumption that participants who have had an opportunity to practice behavior in a laboratory setting will be enabled to deal adequately with the problems and frustrations of a real-life situation.

In application, the module requires that the participants develop scenarios around some frustrating cross-cultural interaction they have experienced. Role plays are then organized around the scenarios. Those participants who do not take on roles serve as observers. At the conclusion of the role play the observers comment

on the interaction and discuss with the role players alternative ways of dealing with the situation. The role play is then repeated, and the players attempt to modify their behavior in the light of the feedback they have just received. The procedure is repeated for as long as it is fruitful.

Objective of Skill-Building Modules

The three modules described above--Field Study, Managed Action Program, and Critical Incidents--are designed to foster the growth of skills necessary for effective cross-cultural interaction. These skills were listed at the beginning of the section and are repeated below:

1. ability to gain entrance to the culture;
2. ability to gain and maintain acceptance by the culture;
3. ability to withhold judgment while observing and listening in the culture;
4. ability to discover the rules, relationships and viewpoint of the culture;
5. ability to identify and act upon problems which arise from interaction with the culture.

The modules do not impart these skills directly. Rather, they provide a framework within which participants are confronted with new experiences then guided toward working out procedures for resolving the difficulties which result from these experiences. The

emphasis is clearly on process. Indeed, though the immediate objective of the modules is to foster the growth of cross-cultural skills, the ultimate goal of these modules (and of the training program generally) is to help participants gain process skills, gain the ability to construct viable mechanisms for dealing with the unexpected.

The Training Program

Considered as a whole, the training program consists of the modules presented above and their application by a qualified facilitator. The most efficacious training program for any group would require the application of every training module. This would require at least one month to accomplish (160 hours of training). Therefore, the effectiveness of the training program can only be fully determined after a sizeable number of participants have experienced every module of the program. Nonetheless, the author expects that even a partial application of the training program might enhance the cross-cultural effectiveness of the participants. The contention is that only a full application of the program will significantly improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of the participants; whereas a partial application of the program might cause some improvement.

Theoretically, the training program is applicable to any participant regardless of previous cross-cultural experience, for the modules use as their content the experience of the trainees. If this

body of experience is big or small it should make no difference as the modules build from the datum of the participant's past experience. In practice, however, it may occur that the participant's experiences include experience with similar training modules or with training procedures which are perceived by the participant to be similar. In either event the effect of the training program is diminished.

In sum, the success of the training program toward increasing the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants, while theoretically unbounded, could actually be affected by the amount of time the participants undergo training and the degree of sophistication that participants bring to the training.

Applying and Testing the Training Modules

In the foregoing section the modules of the author's training program were presented and described in considerable detail. The purpose was to give as complete and clear a picture as possible of the training program, the sources from which it sprang and the rationale behind it. We now turn to the application of the training program, the purpose of this present section.

A Test Proposition

Clearly,the training program was developed to serve a practical end--that of improving the cross-cultural effectiveness of the participants.

To determine whether or not the program meets this objective, it is necessary to apply the program in a real-life situation and observe the results. The procedure for testing the program, therefore, comes down to the simple process of trying it out on willing participants and measuring its effect.

While the process is simple, designing the research and instrumentation is complicated. The author has attempted to minimize this complexity by way of a shakedown cruise, as it were. He applied the modules with several participants and registered their subjective reaction to the experience. Encouraged by the results, he went on to a more formal, yet still limited, investigation of the training program which involved boiling down a complex matrix of factors into the simple proposition that persons who undergo some sequence of training modules will show gain in cross-cultural effectiveness. In the following pages the proposition which guides these investigatory steps is stated and made operational.

Generally stated, the hypothesis to be investigated is that persons who undergo the training program will show gain in cross-cultural effectiveness as measured by a semantic differential instrument applied before and after training. Stated as a formal proposition the hypothesis becomes:

> Upon exposure to Treatment X a person of Culture A will improve his/her effectiveness in working in other cultures.

Operationally defined, the terms of the proposition are:

> Exposure to Treatment X - participation from start to finish in a sequence of training modules presented in Appendix A.
>
> A person of Culture A - a person who with others comprises a group that undergoes Treatment X.
>
> Improve his/her effectiveness in working in other cultures - show an overall gain in the evaluative and potency scales of a semantic differential instrument completed before and after exposure to Treatment X.

Substituting the operational terms for the general terms, the proposition to be tested becomes:

> Upon participation from start to finish in a sequence of training modules presented in Appendix A, a person who with others comprises a group that undergoes Treatment X will show an overall gain in the evaluation and potency scales of a semantic differential instrument completed before and after exposure to Treatment X.

Investigating the Proposition - Group I

The proposition was investigated with two groups of participants. The first comprised undergraduate juniors and seniors enrolled in a teacher preparation program at the School of Education, University of Massachusetts. At the time the students experienced the modules, they were in the second semester of their first year of the teacher preparation program. The majority of the students were planning to seek teaching positions in inner city schools. Realizing that the culture of the inner city differed from their own cultural background, the students felt that

cross-cultural training would be a useful component in their preparation.

Arrangements were made with the instructors to use three of their normally scheduled classes for the purpose of conducting the training. This made available six and one-half hours of training time spread over three consecutive days. While more than twenty students took part in the training at one point or another over the three days, only fourteen students took part from beginning to end. These fourteen students, therefore, constituted the first group to experience the training modules.

Group I - 1st Day

Several days before the training session was scheduled to take place, the instructor of the course and the facilitator (author) discussed all of the training modules and selected those that would be used in the training session. The modules selected were Pitfall, So That's Who I Am, Cross-Cultural Analyzer, Washingtonville, and Effective Cross-Cultural Worker.

On the first day of training, the facilitator opened the two-hour training session with a brief introduction, presenting some of his own background and experiences which had motivated him toward devising cross-cultural training methods. After the introduction, each trainee was asked to complete the semantic differential evaluation instrument.

Pitfall was the first module used with Group I. After a brief explanation by the facilitator, the trainees broke into three groups of

six members each, and each group involved itself in the module independently. The facilitator, meanwhile, circulated among the groups offering explanation and clarification when requested. As involvement in the module deepened, the facilitator asked each group to explain the new rules it had developed for the game and asked each group to clarify the assumptions which gave rise to the new rules. The module ended with each group sharing its explorations with the other groups.

After completing the Pitfall exercise, the trainees moved on to the So That's Who I Am exercise. After the facilitator had briefly verbalized the written instructions, the trainees set to work independently, listing the assumptions that the message sender appeared to be making about them. When closure was reached, the facilitator recorded on a chalkboard all the assumptions that had been perceived by the trainees. The resulting composite definition of the trainees was then discussed as to its validity, and the process of being defined by others was explored.

Group I - 2nd Day

During the second day of training, the trainees worked with the Cross-Cultural Analyzer. After a brief explanation of the module by the facilitator, the trainees, working individually, completed the instrument. This took about forty-five minutes. For the next phase

of the session the trainees formed several small groups. Each group was charged with the task of coming to consensus on each item of the Cross-Cultural Analyzer, first in reference to the Host Culture (inner city) then in reference to American Culture. The task required each member of the group to share his or her item ratings with the group and to reveal the reasoning which led him or her to each rating. As expected, the trainees found this task difficult and somewhat distasteful. Thus, while the trainees were working on the task, the facilitator circulated among the groups in an effort to help them deal with the difficulty of doing the module. He tried to get the groups to focus their attention and discussion on the difficulties and feelings that the trainees were experiencing in doing the exercise. The training session ended with an informal debriefing session in which the trainees discussed their reactions to the module.

Group I - 3rd Day

In the third and final training session the facilitator briefly described the Washingtonville role play and the Effective Cross-Cultural Worker module and asked the participants to express their preferences. As the group was almost equally divided in its preferences, one part of the group undertook to do Washingtonville while the other part opted for the Effective Worker module.

After clarifying one or two points with the facilitator, the Washingtonville group (four role players and six observers), commenced the role play. The players assumed their roles without hesitation and launched themselves into the situation. They remained in their roles for one hour. During the interaction phase of the module, the role players freely and fully discussed the assumptions which underlay the construction of their role characters, and the observers were incisive in pointing out the assumptions which the role players had made about their role characters but had not mentioned. The interaction phase of the module was terminated after thirty minutes.

The trainees who had chosen the Effective Worker module chose also to do the module verbally. This meant that the module was done entirely as a shared event. The effect of the module did not appear to be altered by this change in procedure. The trainees involved themselves in this module for one hour and a half.

After the trainees had completed the two modules, the semantic differential evaluation instrument was administered. Following its completion, the facilitator discussed the training program with the trainees. They expressed considerable interest in the program, in the evaluation instrument, and in the research that the facilitator was conducting.

The training sessions described above constituted the first

testing of the experimental proposition. During the sessions, fourteen trainees participated in five modules of the training program. The total time of participation was six and a half hours.

Group II

The second application of the training program took place at the School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont. The participants were drawn from the school's International Career Training Program. Ten of the trainees were graduate students in the program, and one was a cross-cultural training instructor at the school. All but one or two of the participants had served in the Peace Corps. While other persons sat in on portions of the training, it was these eleven trainees who participated from start to finish.

In the Group II training session two modules were used--Effective Cross-Cultural Worker and So That's Who I Am. The format followed in this session was similar to that used in the first application of training. First the facilitator briefly introduced himself and his intentions. Following the introduction the participants completed the semantic differential evaluation instrument.

In the ensuing forty minutes the participants individually worked through the Effective Worker module, describing on paper, first, the attributes of one who would work effectively in their culture and, secondly, the attributes of one who would work ineffectively in their

culture. During the sharing phase of the module the trainees were asked to report their responses. As they did so, the facilitator listed the responses on newsprint. Thus each trainee's responses were made available to the other trainees. After both sets of responses had been recorded--those describing the effective worker and those describing the ineffective worker--the facilitator asked the trainees to describe the attributes of an effective cross-cultural worker, generally. In responding to this task the trainees surfaced several attributes, and, more importantly, frequently discussed the relative importance of these attributes.

At the close of the Effective Worker module, the trainees took a short break. Upon their return, the facilitator introduced the So That's Who I Am exercise, and the training session continued with the participants working on this exercise.

Following the format used in the previous application of the exercise, the trainees first worked individually to list the assumptions that they felt the message sender was making about them and their cultural values. When the trainees had finished their lists, the facilitator recorded on a chalkboard the assumptions that the trainees had perceived. The assumptions were listed under the headings of View of Self, View of World, and Source of Wisdom. When closure had been reached, the facilitator and the trainees discussed the resulting composite definition of themselves and their temporary culture. In

particular, the facilitator asked the trainees to comment on the accuracy or inaccuracy of the definition, and upon the feelings they experienced in being defined by someone outside of their culture. The module closed with a discussion of the process of definition by others and an exploration of some manifestations of this process.

When the So That's Who I Am module had reached closure, the facilitator asked the trainees to complete once again the semantic differential evaluation instrument. When this had been accomplished, the facilitator explained the rationale of the instrument to the participants and responded to their questions about the instrument and the training session.

In the Group II training session, eleven trainees participated from beginning to end in two modules of the training program. Including the time the participants spent completing the semantic differential evaluation instrument, the total time spent in training was four hours.

Total Training Time

In the application of the program described above fourteen trainees took part in five training modules from beginning to end for a total of six and one half hours of training. In the second application eleven trainees participated in two modules for a total training time of four hours. The semantic differential evaluation instrument was completed

by each group of trainees before and after their participation.

The Evaluation Instrument

At the beginning of this chapter the author hypothesized that trainees would gain in cross-cultural effectiveness by participating in the modules of the training program. Moreover, it was stated that this gain would be measured by a semantic differential instrument applied before and after training. The purpose of this section is to explore the origins and development of the semantic differential instrument used to evaluate the training program.

The Semantic Differential

The semantic differential was developed by Osgood to measure the connotative meanings of concepts.[4] It does this by locating the concept as a point in what Osgood calls "semantic space." The concept is located in semantic space in terms of its position relative to two major axes in much the same manner that students of algebra plot points on a curve in relation to the x and y axes. The difference is that Osgood's axes are labeled, not x and y, but Evaluative and Potency. The evaluative axis measures the "goodness" of a concept;

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[4] C. Osgood, G. Suci, and P. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

the farther from the origin (the point at which the two axes cross) in the positive direction that a given concept is located, the higher the "good" of that concept. Conversely, the farther from the origin in the negative direction the concept is located, the greater is the "bad" of the concept. The Potency axis refers to the strength of the concept. That is to say, location far from the origin in the positive direction indicates that the concept has a high degree of strength or power. Likewise, the concept is weak if it is located far from the origin in the negative direction on the Potency axis.

Uses Metaphor

The semantic differential makes possible the location of concepts in semantic space by way of an ingenious application of metaphor. It operates on the simple principle that the meaning of an abstract concept has correlates in the concrete experience of individuals. The concept of GOVERNMENT, for example, might for some persons connote fairness, for others connote unfairness and for yet others connote something between total fairness and total unfairness. Other pairs of bipolar adjectives could also be used to determine one's connotative reaction to the concept of GOVERNMENT, weak-strong, big-little, harsh-mild, sweet-sour, to name a few. Moreover, if these pairs of adjectives are presented as ends of a continuum the

respondent can indicate his or her connotative reaction to the concept at or somewhere between either extreme. Also, if the distance between the two adjectives is scaled, a quantitative value can be assigned to each response.

To build upon the example presented above, suppose that the concept of GOVERNMENT is presented and a respondent is asked to indicate his or her reaction to the concept by marking several sets of bipolar adjectives. The response sheet would appear as follows:

GOVERNMENT

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	mild
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
		7	6	5	4	3	2	1
fair	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	unfair
		7	6	5	4	3	2	1
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour
		7	6	5	4	3	2	1

In marking his or her responses (putting check marks between the colons), the respondent indicates his or her connotative reaction to the concept of GOVERNMENT. In effect, the respondent indicates the concrete meaning that the word GOVERNMENT has for him or her. Moreover, each response is assigned a quantitative value.

In essence, the above discussion is a description of the semantic differential, an instrument that fixes in semantic space the

meaning that an individual ascribes to a particular concept. Some of the sets of bipolar adjectives, or scales, serve to locate the concept in the Evaluative dimension, and other scales indicate the location of the concept in the Potency dimension. In completing a semantic differential the respondent, in effect, assigns a quantitative value to each of a number of scales that refer to a given concept. The quantitative data thereby generated enable the researcher to locate in semantic space the meaning the respondent ascribes to a given concept.

Advantages of the Semantic Differential

In searching for an instrument with which to measure what effect, if any, the cross-cultural training modules might have on the trainees, the author reviewed and discarded several methods before deciding to construct a semantic differential evaluation instrument. The semantic differential was seen to have several advantages over other possible methods of evluation. In the first place, considerable research has been done in developing the semantic differential. Also, it had been applied in numerous studies.[5] There existed, therefore, a body of knowledge concerning the semantic differential. However

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[5] Much of this research and many of these studies are reported in James G. Snider and Charles E. Osgood, eds., Semantic Differential Technique (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969).

contested this knowledge might be, it nonetheless provided a background from which to work. Were the author to devise his own evaluative method entirely, he would have had to do so without the advantage of a background body of knowledge.

A second advantage of the semantic differential is its relative unobtrusiveness. Every paper-and-pencil instrument is obtrusive in that by being asked to complete an instrument participants are made aware that something is being measured. Questionnaires and other instruments which ask the participant directly for his or her opinions or attitudes have a high degree of obtrusiveness, for they run the risk of tempting the respondent to give what she or he feels is the expected answer. The semantic differential has the advantage of measuring the respondent's attitudes indirectly and, for this reason, is relatively unobtrusive.

Individuality is the third advantage displayed by the semantic differential. That is to say, two respondents who complete the same semantic differential will complete it differently; the meaning ascribed to a concept by one respondent will differ from the meaning ascribed to the same concept by another respondent. Of all the advantages that the semantic differential has over other methods of measuring attitude, or connotative meaning, the advantage of individuality is the most important to this study. In the first instance, the proposition to be tested is stated in terms of the individual: "Upon exposure to

Treatment X a person of Culture A will improve his/her effectiveness in working in other cultures." In order to prove or disprove the proposition it is necessary to 1) measure the cross-cultural effectiveness of each participant before he or she undergoes training; 2) conduct training; and 3) measure the cross-cultural effectiveness of each participant after he or she has undergone training. It is therefore necessary to determine the datum for each participant prior to training, so that any change which might occur as a result of training will be relative to the effectiveness that the participant brought to the training. In this regard, the semantic differential is well-suited as an evaluation instrument, for it locates the connotative meaning (or in the terms of the proposition, the effectiveness) that each participant imparts to each concept both before and after training. Moreover, the semantic differential allows the participant a wide degree of response latitude. For example, if a respondent is asked to rate a concept in reference to five scales, and each scale exhibits seven possible responses, the respondent, theoretically, has available 7^5, or 117,649, definitions of that concept.

Workshop Evaluation Instrument

On the strength of the advantages presented above, the semantic differential was determined to be the best method of evaluating the effect

that the training program might have, or not have, on the participants. Accordingly, the author designed a semantic differential instrument that 1) would determine the participant's attitudes in respect to a set of concepts deemed important to cross-cultural effectiveness; 2) would be sufficiently sensitive to measure any change that might occur in these attitudes as a result of training; and 3) would indicate that no change had occurred, if that were the case.

Designing the Instrument

The first step in generating the instrument, hereafter called Workshop Evaluation,[6] was to determine a universe of concepts pertinent to cross-cultural effectiveness. This was accomplished by the following procedure: First, the author administered the Effective Cross-Cultural Worker exercise to fourteen persons. From the responses of the fourteen persons the author compiled a list of 208 attributes of the effective cross-cultural worker. Then, by computing the frequency with which each attribute occurred and observing similarities among attributes, the author generated from this list of attributes a set of concepts pertinent to cross-cultural effectiveness. By means of this procedure the thirty-eight concepts of the Workshop

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[6] A sample of the instrument is displayed in Appendix B.

Evaluation were derived.

The scales (pairs of bipolar adjectives) for the Workshop Evaluation were taken from the list of scales compiled for that purpose by Osgood.[7] Five scales were selected to be used with each concept. They are listed below and are identified as evaluative or potency scales:

mild/harsh	(evaluative)
strong/weak	(potency)
big/little	(potency)
good/bad	(evaluative)
sweet/sour	(evaluative)

The complete Workshop Evaluation instrument consists of each of the thirty-eight concepts presented as stimulus words; each stimulus word is followed by the five scales. Written instructions request the respondent to indicate his or her immediate reaction to each stimulus word by marking one of the spaces between each pair of response words. The instructions reiterate that the respondent is to mark every pair of response words under every stimulus word.

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[7] James G. Snider and Charles E. Osgood, eds., Semantic Differential Technique (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), p. 313.

Summary

The chapter opened with a description of the modules of a cross-cultural training program developed by the author to improve the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants. The succeeding section dealt with application of the training program--who underwent training, for how long, and with what modules. This section also expressed the intention of the training program in the terms of a formal proposition--exposure to a sequence of training modules would increase the cross-cultural effectiveness of the participants. A special instrument was needed to measure the effect of the training on the participants. The last section of the chapter traced the development of the Workshop Evaluation instrument, a form of the semantic differential.

The next chapter will display and discuss the results generated by administration of the Workshop Evaluation instrument before and after participants underwent training.

CHAPTER V

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Consider, for a moment, this study as a journey. At the outset we determined cross-cultural effectiveness as the best way to go, and chose to apply a training program as the best means of travel. Our destination was improvement of the cross-cultural effectiveness of those who would undergo training. We would know that we had reached our destination if the trainees showed overall gain in the evaluative and potency scales of the Workshop Evaluation instrument, completing it before and after undergoing training. Have we reached our destination?

The purpose of the present chapter is to answer this question and, in answering it, to display and discuss the results generated by the pre- and post-training administration of the Workshop Evaluation instrument.

Significant Change

While the development of the Workshop Evaluation instrument was described in Chapter IV, two additional points must be made about the instrument. These points are best made here as they bear directly on the interpretation, validity and reliability of the findings.

The first point regards the amount of change in scale value that could be considered significant. The research done in developing the semantic differential instrument seems to demonstrate that, for an individual, a change of more than two scale units would indicate a change in the connotative meaning that the individual ascribes to a particular concept. This research also suggests that, if the average of scale values (the mean of all the scales that measure potency, for example) changes by 1.00 - 1.50 scale units, a significant difference in meaning for the individual could be said to have occurred. This point is perhaps better made in the words of the researchers themselves: "The evidence shows that for individual subjects a shift of more than two scale units probably represents a significant change, or difference in meaning, and a shift of more than 1.00 - 1.50 scale units in factor score (depending on the particular factor) is probably significant."[1] Factor score is the average of all the values applied to a particular scale. Average of all the values indicated on the evaluative scales, for example, is the evaluative factor score. In compiling the data displayed below, the author considered as

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[1] Snider and Osgood, op. cit., p. 7.

significant only those factor scores that were greater than 1.00.[2] Mean changes of less than 1.00 were interpreted as no change.

Collection of Data

Initial Feedback

As a first step toward investigating the effectiveness of the training modules. The author conducted several of the modules with various groups of graduate and undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts. Normally, one exercise was conducted with each group, and each session typically lasted for two hours. The following table illustrates the extent and distribution of these first applications of the training modules.

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[2] In choosing the lower limit of the significance range, the author might very well create the impression that he is setting up a parameter which will bias the data toward his desired outcome. While it is acknowledged that this impression might be created, it is also noted that the limit of significance has a negative, as well as positive, component. Thus, whether the net is of fine or coarse mesh, the same proportion of negative fish will be caught relative to the number of positive fish. The coarse net will simply allow more fish in, of both varieties.

MODULE	NO. PARTICIPANTS	NO. HOURS
Washingtonville	24	6-1/2
Pitfall	13	5
So That's Who I Am	21	5
Effective Cross-Cultural Worker	14	2
Managed Action Program	4	4
Critical Incidents	9	2

At the close of most of these two-hour training sessions the participants were asked to give their reactions to the session by means of a feedback form. Essentially, the form asked the participants to register their reactions by checking one of serveral possible responses to a set of stimulus statements. The statements and corresponding responses are given below. The numbers indicate the frequency of response of thirty-three participants.

A. Overall, I found the content and process of this session:

CONTENT	PROCESS
6 highly valuable	6 engrossing
19 useful	18 mostly interesting
7 so-so	7 so-so
1 of little use to me	1 frequently boring
0 a waste of time	1 irrelevant

B. I came to this session:

5 charged and highly interested

18 feeling that maybe I would learn a couple of things

6 with a we'll-see attitude

0 expecting little

0 sure it would be a bust

4 other:

C. I came away feeling:

5 I got much more than I expected

14 I got more than I expected

10 I got about what I expected

2 I got less than I expected

0 I got much less than I expected

2 other:

Workshop Evaluation Instrument

Through administration of the Workshop Evaluation Instrument, data were collected from two groups of subjects. The first was a group of fourteen undergraduates who underwent six and one-half hours of training. The second was a group of ten graduate students and one instructor who underwent four hours of training. The raw data collected from these two groups consist of the value each subject assigned to each of five scales under the thirty-eight concepts

of the Workshop Evaluation instrument, before and after the subject had undergone training. There follows a detailed description of how the raw data were treated. As an aid to understanding, Table 1 is inserted below the explanation. It illustrates the manner in which the data were treated.

For each subject the difference between pre- and post-test values was calculated in two steps:

1. Under each concept there are five response scales. The first (a), fourth (d), and fifth (e) of these are Evaluative scales. The second (b) and third (c) are Potency scales. For each type of scale, the sum of pre-test values is computed and subtracted from the sum of post-test values. This computation yields two scores for each concept--the Raw Difference between pre- and post-test values for the Evaluative scales, and the Raw Difference between the pre- and post-test values for the Potency scales. These scores are indicated as RD_E and RD_P, respectively.

2. The Raw Difference scores are then used to compute the Significant Mean Difference (SMD). Essentially, the computation is an averaging operation whereby the Raw Difference is divided by the number of scales. The mean difference for the Evaluative scales, for example, is computed by dividing the raw difference for the Evaluative scales by three, the number of Evaluative scales. This operation is indicated by: $RD_E/3$. The mean difference for the Potency scales is indicated by $RD_P/2$. The Significant Mean Difference is a mean difference that is greater than 1.00. In treating the raw data, only Significant Mean Differences have been computed and displayed. For the Evaluative scales the SMD is indicated as: $RD_E/3 > 1.00$, and for the Potency scales the SMD is indicated as $RD_P/2 > 1.00$.

TABLE 1

Sample of Calculations Used to Determine Effect of Cross-Cultural Training as Measured by Pre- and Post-Testing with Workshop Evaluation Instrument

Concept[a]	Value Pre-Test	Value Post-Test	Raw Difference (RD) Evaluative[b] RD_E	Raw Difference (RD) Potency[c] RD_P	Significant Mean Difference (SMD) Evaluative $RD_E/3>1$	Significant Mean Difference (SMD) Potency $RD_P/2>1$
1. a.	5	2				
b.	2	5				
c.	3	5	0	5	-	2.50
d.	4	5				
e.	3	5				
2. a.	4	3				
b.	5	5				
c.	4	4	1	0	-	-
d.	6	7				
e.	5	6				
3. a.	5	2				
b.	4	5				
c.	3	5	-5	3	-1.67	1.50
d.	6	5				
e.	5	4				
etc.						

[a]Concepts 1, 2, 3, etc. correspond to the concepts--LEARN, INSIGHT, LISTENING, etc.--listed on the Workshop Evaluation. The letters, a, b, c, d, e, indicate the five scales that occur under each concept--mild/harsh, strong/weak, big/little, good/bad, and sweet/sour.

[b]The RD_E score is calculated by subtracting the sum of the pre-test values for scales a, d, and e from the sum of post-test values for the same three scales.

[c]The RD_P score is calculated by subtracting the sum of the pre-test values for scales b and c from the sum of the post-test values for the same two scales.

This method of analyzing and displaying the data reveals the significant gain or loss each subject shows on each concept. At the same time, the method allows presentation of the raw data from which the gains and losses are computed. The resulting display of the data, while complete, is inelegantly bulky. Therefore, a summary of the results is presented in Table 2, below.

TABLE 2

Significant Change in Concept Meaning Exhibited by Participants in Cross-Cultural Training Program

Participant	No. Concepts Showing Significant Change	Sum of Gain or Loss of Significant Mean Difference	
		Evaluative	Potency
Group I (6-1/2 hrs. training)			
1	34	-57.33	-46.50
2	30	-11.00	-12.50
3	21	- 7.00	1.50
4	21	- 6.00	- 4.00
5	16	- 2.33	15.50
6	15	2.00	20.00
7	15	- 4.33	2.00
8	15	2.67	- 1.50
9	14	7.33	8.00
10	12	- 2.00	- 7.00
11	11	3.33	- 1.00
12	10	-10.30	3.00
13	9	6.00	15.00
14	7	- 2.33	4.50

(Table 2 Continued On Following Page)

(Table 2 Continuation)

Participant	No. Concepts Showing Significant Change	Sum of Gain or Loss of Significant Mean Difference	
		Evaluative	Potency
Group II (4 hrs. training)			
1	22	7.67	14.00
2	21	- 8.00	14.00
3	19	- 4.00	- 6.50
4	17	-12.33	-23.00
5	16	14.33	9.00
6	12	-19.00	-12.00
7	11	- 5.33	- 7.00
8	10	1.00	5.50
9	10	1.67	10.50
10	8	- 8.00	- 2.00
11	4	0.00	6.00

Maximum Change

Before proceeding with an interpretation of the data, it would be useful to discuss the conditions of maximum change allowed by the Workshop Evaluation instrument.

Since each scale of the instrument allows the respondent to choose from among seven possible responses, the maximum value on each scale is seven. The minimum value on each scale is one. The maximum difference (negative or positive), therefore, is six. Regardless of the number of scales employed, if each indicates

maximum change in the same direction, the maximum Significant Mean Difference will be six (negative or positive). The maximum sum of Significant Mean Differences, therefore, would be the maximum Significant Mean Difference for each concept (6) multiplied by the number of concepts (38), or 228 (negative or positive).

The data displayed in Table 2 are made more meaningful when compared to the maximum possible change. As indicated above, the maximum possible change is 228 (negative or positive). A cursory glance at Table 2 shows that the overall gain or loss exhibited by each participant is very small in comparison with the maximum possible change of 228.

Interpretation of the Data

There are two types of data displayed in the preceding section. One set of data represents the subjective judgments of thirty-three participants as to the value of the training modules that they experienced. These data indicate that the majority of the participants found their training experience to be "useful" and "mostly interesting." Moreover, a majority of the participants got "more" or "much more" from the experience than they had expected. Though general and subjective, these responses indicate that the modules of the training program help to fulfill the needs of most of the participants--as they perceived their needs--in the area of cross-cultural effectiveness.

The second set of data which is displayed above resulted from application of the Workshop Evaluation instrument with two groups of participants before and after training. The purpose of conducting this evaluation and of collecting these data was to begin building a body of experience which could be used as a basis for improving the modules and designing reliable evaluation techniques. The intent, in short, was to take some of the modules on a shakedown cruise to discover the bugs.

The data generated by the Workshop Evaluation instrument call attention to the need for further investigation and development in the area of evaluation. This is borne out by the inconclusiveness of the data. These data indicate no consistent correlation, for example, between the number of concepts showing change and the degree or direction of change. Neither do the data indicate any patterns of consequence among participants who registered change of meaning in a majority of the concepts.

In reviewing the results of the shakedown cruise several observations can be made regarding directions for future investigation. These observations are listed below and treated in detail in the next chapter. They indicate a need for:

1. Sensitive, reliable and stable instrumentation to measure the impact of the training program on the cross-cultural effectiveness of participants.

2. Some method of exploring the possible correlation between personality characteristics and a person's effectiveness in a cross-cultural situation.

3. Some method of determining the degree of a person's motivation to become an effective mediator between cultures, and the correlation between motivation towards, and success in, cross-cultural effectiveness.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

Summary

In the course of this study an original conceptualization of the dynamics which occur when two different cultures interact has been presented, and a plan for training educational and other personnel in cross-cultural effectiveness has been advanced. Some modules of the training program were applied with small groups of participants, and an original evaluation instrument was developed to assess the impact of the training on participants.

The purpose of these early trials was to discover the strengths and weaknesses of the training program and means of evaluating it, and thus to point out directions for future development. We are, therefore, concerned in this final chapter with the implications raised by the study in the areas of conceptualization, application, and evaluation of a cross-cultural training program.

Conceptualization

Other investigators (namely, Wedge and Stewart) use as the organizing principle of their cross-cultural training programs the notion that one's own cultural values are the main impediment to cross-cultural

effectiveness. The programs of these investigators are designed to bring participants to awareness of their cultural values. These writers do not, however, write into their procedures means for treating the definitions of others that participants project upon persons of different cultures. The author's approach to cross-cultural training is based on the definitions that one people projects on another, the virtual cultures created when two cultures interact. In this regard, the author's conceptualization of training is unique.

Moreover, because the training program rests on the concept of virtual cultures, it has potential as a means for resolving conflicts between different groups within the same culture. For example, a current phenomenon in American culture is the Woman's Liberation Movement. The Movement consistently draws attention to the demeaning definition placed on the woman by a male-dominated society. In effect, the adherents of the Movement are pointing out that the societal image of woman is a virtual image, a product of the male perspective. Furthermore, the point is pressed that in defining the woman's role from a male perspective, society not only creates a virtual image of woman, but also usurps from woman the power of self-definition.

An examination of the cultural values of American men and women would throw little light on the situation described above, for American men and women share most cultural values. To investigate

the conflict from the point of view of virtual cultures would, however, go to the heart of the matter, for the conflict arises from a situation in which one group has constructed from its perspective a definition of another group.

Similarly, the virtual-culture concept could be applied to a wide variety of inter-group conflicts--school teachers vs school board, black vs white, teacher vs students, to name a few. Clearly, the use of the virtual-culture concept as a means of resolving inter-group conflicts holds promise for future inquiry.

Another unique feature of the training program deserves further mention here. Some of the training modules, building on the concept of virtual cultures, are designed to enhance the participant's awareness of the definition that he or she places on others. While these modules are unique both from the point of view of the concept which informs them and in terms of their specific format, they represent but one half of the training program. In addition to these awareness-building modules, there is also a set of skill-building modules. Their purpose is to impart to participants the ability to: 1) gain entrance to a culture; 2) gain and maintain acceptance by a culture; 3) withhold judgment while observing in a culture; 4) discover the rules, relationships, and viewpoint of a culture; and 5) identify and act upon problems which arise from interaction with a culture.

Normally, cross-cultural training procedures are content to

build awareness of cultural values (the Contrast-American role play developed by Stewart is a case in point). When skills like those listed above become the concern of the training, they do so only tangentially. The author's training program is differentiated from others in that it includes means for imparting cross-cultural skills as well as means for raising awareness.

Application

During the course of this study only certain of the modules of the training program were applied. Moreover, the largest group to undergo training numbered fourteen. It can be said with little hesitation, therefore, that at some point in the future the entire training program should be conducted with a sufficiently large and stable group of participants.

Facilitator

The training modules are conducted by a facilitator. In addition to giving instructions for the proper completion of the module, the facilitator plays a crucial part in guiding the interaction among the participants. To do this task successfully, the facilitator must have considerable skill in managing the dynamics of groups. This is especially important with reference to the awareness-raising modules, for these modules require the participants to concentrate on the

assumptions that they are making about others. There is, therefore, some risk involved in revealing these assumptions. It is the facilitator's job to minimize the risk and see that as many assumptions as possible are brought to the surface and examined.

In the training that was conducted as a part of this study, the author served as facilitator. In a full-scale application of the training, more facilitators will be needed. Clearly, therefore, a future application of the full training program will require the training of several facilitators.

Evaluation

Throughout this study it has been assumed that regardless of the unique set of experiences that each participant would bring to the training, the experiences provided by the training would enhance the participant's cross-cultural effectiveness. While the study has uncovered no data that would refute this assumption, several observations that bear on the possible correlation of cross-cultural effectiveness and factors of personality are in order.

In a study done twenty years ago, Hilda Taba[1] investigated the effect that a study tour of France would have on a group of professors

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[1]Hilda Taba, Cultural Attitudes and International Understanding (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966).

of international affairs. She was able to conclude that "People with relatively strong stereotypes of the Ideal Society, a critical disposition toward the United States, and an inclination to idealize France (Type II), were more apt to develop a less favorable, but at the same time more realistic idea of France. However, highly ethnocentric individuals (Type III) intensified their criticism of France and strengthened their biases in favor of the the United States."[2] While this conclusion corroborates the central notion of this study that we tend to see what we're looking for, its main importance lies in the implied suggestion that cross-cultural understanding or effectiveness might, to a large degree, be predetermined by the constellation of personality factors which make up the individual. Is it possible, in other words, that certain individuals are naturally inclined to be effective in cross-cultural situations? Conversely, are there individuals who, by virtue of innate characteristics, could not become effective in cross-cultural situations regardless of the amount of training to which they are exposed? These questions lay the ground work for important future inquiries. Moreover, they suggest the need for instrumentation that would determine whether or not a correlation exists between cross-cultural effectiveness and certain individual

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[2]Ibid., p. 68.

factors.

Plainly, one of the most important of such factors is an individual's motivation. Not only is it important as a factor in determining what effect training might have on an individual, but it also represents a desired goal of training. The question is: How might we enhance motivation toward effectiveness in cross-cultural situations? While a complete and supportable answer to this question will require considerable future research, one possible approach comes to mind. It entails the presentation of a series of situations or scenes in which a fictitious character, who happens to be from the same cultural background as the participant, is faced with a problem that has resulted from his lack of skill in interacting with cultures different from his or hers. In using the scenes for training, various participants would be called upon to assume the role of the character at the climax of the scene and to extricate themselves from the situation in any manner they thought acceptable. At the end of the scene the facilitator and participants would review the event in an attempt to discover 1) a set of cross-cultural skills that, were they available to the character, would have prevented the confrontation, and 2) a set of skills that would have allowed him or her easier egress from the situation.

Suggestions for Future Inquiry

This study has presented a conceptualization of, and a plan for,

training educational and other personnel in cross-cultural effectiveness. The concept represents a unique approach to cross-cultural training. The plan for training based on the concept has been tried out on a limited basis with small numbers of participants. The results of these initial trials indicate the need for future inquiry in several areas. They are summarized below:

1. The full training program needs to be conducted with a significantly large and stable group of participants.

2. This should not be done, however, before the means of evaluation have been determined and tested. For example, the author's Workshop Evaluation instrument measures change in cross-cultural effectiveness in reference to change in meaning of concepts. This instrument needs further testing, however, to determine its validity and reliability. Other instruments are needed to determine the long-range, as well as the short-range, effects of training. Work must also be done to devise means of measuring the correlation between personality factors (especially motivation) and cross-cultural effectiveness, before and after training.

3. Those who would facilitate application of the training program would have to be knowledgeable in group management, and sensitive to the objectives of the training modules. These requirements might necessitate special training for the facilitators.

4. Methods must be found to determine whether there exists a correlation between personality factors and effectiveness in cross-cultural situations.

5. Since motivation appears to be an especially important factor in cross-cultural effectiveness, procedures should be developed to determine the extent of a participant's motivation towards improving his or her cross-cultural effectiveness. Also, additional training modules should be developed to encourage motivation where it appears to be weak.

APPENDIX A

THE MODULES OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM

Cross-Cultural Analyzer - a borrowed Peace Corps training instrument, the Analyzer is useful in surfacing and contrasting one's view of self, own culture and other cultures. After completing the instrument individually, participants work in small groups to reach concensus on the items. The resulting give and take help each participant toward greater awareness of his/her perceptions of others. Time: 3 - 6 hrs.

Field Study - participants observe in a culture different from their own to develop the several cross-cultural skills of entering a different culture, observing without valuing, and discovering rules and relationships. The Field Study Exercise helps to prepare participants for observation in a different culture but cannot substitute for actual field study. Time: 10 - 40 hrs.

Pit-Fall - by playing this game derived from dominoes participants investigate the implications of their interactions with other cultures. Time: 2 - 3 hrs.

So That's Who I Am - in this exercise participants find themselves the victims of definition by someone else's assumptions. The exercise is useful in exploring false existences. Time: 3 hrs.

Washingtonville - in this role play participants become persons from other cultures and backgrounds. Useful learning occurs when, after the role playing, participants and observers discuss the assumptions that were consciously and unconsciously made by the participants in creating their role characters. Time: 3 hrs.

Critical Incidents - frustrating situations are drawn from participant's own experiences. These situations are then presented as problems which participants are asked to resolve--first individually, then through small group discussion. Critical incidents present many opportunities for participants to discover their preconceptions of others and learn about their own cultural values. Time: 3 - 10 hrs.

Managed Action Program - using a type of force-field analysis participants identify the factors which limit their effectiveness as cross-cultural workers. Then, considering these limitiations as objectives, particpants determine the how, who and when of meeting each objective. Time: 6 - 12 hrs.

Primarily, the training concerns the development of process skills; any specific data that might be discovered about one's own

culture or other cultures, while welcome, would be incidental. As the content of the training modules is supplied, for the most part, from the personal experiences of the participants, the modules can be used with a wide variety of participants.

Operationalization of Effective Cross-Cultural Worker

Suppose that a person from outside of your culture has been invited by your community to help fulfill a set of needs defined by the community.

I. Envision this person working effectively in the community. How does he/she look, talk, act, plan, go about establishing him/herself in your community? Cite specific behaviors and attitudes.

II. Envision a person working ineffectively in your community. How does he/she look, talk, act, plan, go about trying to establish him/herself in your community? Cite specific behaviors and attitudes.

III. What advice would you give the ineffective worker to improve his/her effectiveness?

Cross-Cultural Analyzer*

INSTRUCTIONS

Working alone, study each of the cultural dimensions in the attached instrument. Then, using the nine-point scale:

1. Indicate where you feel the "typical" American position is on each dimension.
2. Indicate where you feel the "typical" Host National position is on each dimension.
3. Indicate where you feel your own position is on each dimension.

Then, working in a group, reach consensus on the position of the "typical" American and "typical" Host National in each dimension (again using the nine-point scale).

* Adapted from similar instrument developed for Peace Corps training and reported in Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training (Estes Park: Center for Research and Education, 1970).

CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYZER

Name _____

D-Group No. _____

American
Host National
Self

1. Attitude toward man's basic nature:

Basically good — Basically evil

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

___ ___ ___

2. Attitude toward life:

All life highly valued and to be spared at all costs — Individual less important than group

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

___ ___ ___

3. Attitude toward death:

Predetermined and inevitable — Accidental and haphazard

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

___ ___ ___

4. Attitude toward suffering and pain:

To be avoided if possible — Inevitable and unavoidable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

___ ___ ___

American
Host National
Self

5. Attitude toward problem solving:

Rational, logical — Instinctive, impulsive

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Man's duty — God's province

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6. Attitude toward status, titles, degrees:

Reasons other than merit (i.e. hereditary) — Earned by merit

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7. Attitude toward animals:

Close to man's feelings — Closer to inanimate objects

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

8. Attitude toward control of one's environment:

Self-determination — Fatalistic

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

9. Attitude toward material objects:

Highly valued — Not of great importance

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

American Host National Self

10. Attitude toward science, technology, machines:

Highly valued — Not of great importance

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. Attitude toward time:

Present time valued — Concern and planning for future

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12. Attitude toward achievement:

Goal-oriented — People-oriented

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

13. Attitude toward work:

Brings tangible results — Not a means to an end

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

14. Attitude toward manual work:

For lower classes only — Good for everyone

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

American Host National Self

15. Attitude toward value of experience:

Learn by mistakes									Mistakes should be avoided at all costs
___ ___ ___	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

16. Attitude toward "change":

Possible with effort									Impossible to achieve
___ ___ ___	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

17. Attitude toward self vis a vis others:

Privacy valued									Company valued
___ ___ ___	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

18. Attitude toward relationship to others:

Independence valued									Group valued over individual
___ ___ ___	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

19. Attitude toward small group of family:

Other relationships valued as or more important									Strong and only loyalty
___ ___ ___	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

American
Host National
Self

20. Attitude toward community cooperation:

Apathy — Involvement

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

21. Attitude toward women:

Inferior to men — Equal to men

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

22. Attitude toward relationships between sexes:

Platonic relationships possible — Sexual relationship always exists

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

23. Attitude toward relationships within the sexes:

Extremely close, warm — Warm, close friendships uncommon

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

24. Attitude toward the under-dog:

Sympathy — Scorn

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

American
Host National
Self

25. Attitude toward authority:

Resentment, rebellion — Valued, respected

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

26. Attitude toward meeting commitments (appointment schedules, etc.):

Casual, little concern — Great concern

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

27. Attitude toward inefficiency and red tape:

Complete indifference — Can't tolerate

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

28. Style of communication:

Polite, Vague, indirect — Frank, open, direct

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

29. Attitude toward strangers:

Complete distrust — Great hospitality

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

American Host National Self

30. Concern for status:

Complete indifference — Great concern

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

31. Attitude toward elders:

Honor, respect, deference — Disrespect, distrust, disregard

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

32. Attitude toward maintenance of classroom discipline:

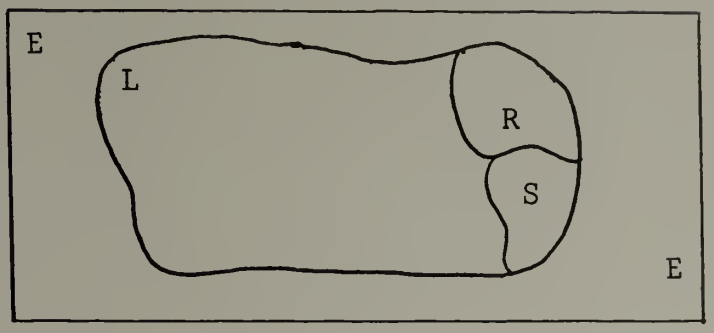
Very strict, reliance on punishment — Very permissive, reliance on student responsibility

___ ___ ___ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

PITFALL

(with pointed stakes)

The playing board looks like this:



Where:

E is the environment
L is the learner (includes R and S)
R is the redundant
S is symbol

Initially all pieces are placed face down in E, to the left of L.

A first piece is drawn randomly from E and placed face up in L. This represents the first clue given to the teacher by the learner.

The teacher draws another piece randomly from E. If the number of dots on one of its ends matches the number of dots on one of the ends of the piece in L, the corresponding ends are placed together; thus the drawn piece becomes assimilated by the learner. If neither end of the drawn piece matches an end of the piece in L, the drawn piece is returned to E, but to the right of L.

The teacher draws each piece from E (left of L) and matches it in like fashion.

Should both ends of a drawn piece correspond with terminals of the learner, the drawn piece becomes redundant and is placed in R.

Should the sum of dots on a drawn piece equal the number of terminals of the learner, the drawn piece becomes a symbol and is

placed in S.

Should the drawn piece be both redundant and a symbol, it is considered a symbol.

The above rules represent only one way to play the game of learning. The assumptions underlying these rules are:

1. The teacher controls the bits and feeds them to the learner.

2. The teacher is unaware, however, of these bits until they are presented to the learner.

3. The teacher knows the susceptibility of the learner in that he/she can see the terminals of the learner.

4. The teacher knows the rules; whereas the learner can only accept or reject inputs.

Play PITFALL several times to gain familiarity with the game. Then set up your own rules. What do your rules imply about learning, learners and teachers?

SO THAT'S WHO I AM

You are the receiver of the attached message, which has been sent by someone outside of your culture.

What is the sender assuming about you and your cultural values? Especially, what is the sender saying about the following in your culture?

1. view of self
2. view of the world
3. motivations
4. relationships (interpersonal, interstatus)
5. activities (desired and actual)
6. source of wisdom

Working alone list the assumptions that the sender is making about you. Adhere as closely as possible to the above numbered categories. Then, share your list and interpretations with one or two other participants.

YOUR NERVES CAN CURE THEMSELVES

once you learn how to de-sensitize them, this doctor's ingenious new way...

If You Suffer From A Single One Of These Torturous Symptoms Of Nerves, Tension Or Chronic Anxiety, THEN THE FACTS BELOW MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT YOU HAVE EVER READ IN YOUR LIFE!

Because they reveal, for the first time, *how your nerves have tricked you* into the following mental symptoms:

constant nervousness and over-irritation... indecision... depression ...loss of confidence in yourself and others... feelings of unreality... overwhelming obsession with one or two horrible thoughts...

a hopeless feeling that your entire personality is coming apart... that your identity is dissolving... or that you may be helplessly drifting into a nervous breakdown!

And—equally as bad—*how your nerves have tricked you* into the following physical symptoms:

chronic fatigue, that starts in the morning, and grows worse as the day goes on...

"missed" heartbeats—"racing" heart—palpitations—or sudden sharp pains under the heart...

sweating hands—or "pins and needles" in either your hands or your legs...

"churning" stomach... nausea... choking feeling in the throat... inability to take a deep breath... tight band of pain around the head..."ready to jump out of your skin"... strange tricks of vision ...weak spells... insomnia, that goes on night after night after night...

hand shaking... panic spasms... knots in your chest... dizziness... difficulty in swallowing... vomiting... *and all the other physical tortures that turn your life into one continuous hell!*

And Every One Of These Nervous Symptoms Can Be Controlled... And Then Diminished ...And Then Eliminated—OFTEN BY AS LITTLE AS THIS ONE SINGLE INSIGHT INTO THEIR HIDDEN CAUSE!

And that insight is this:
If you suffer from any of the nervous symptoms listed above, then you

must understand at once that your nerves are not ill... they have not deteriorated... *they have not lost their true physical health in any way!* What has happened to them instead is that they have simply become OVER-SENSITIZED..."rubbed raw" by too much outside irritation ...*and are now ready to discharge the emotional and physical symptoms of panic at even the slightest thing that goes wrong!*

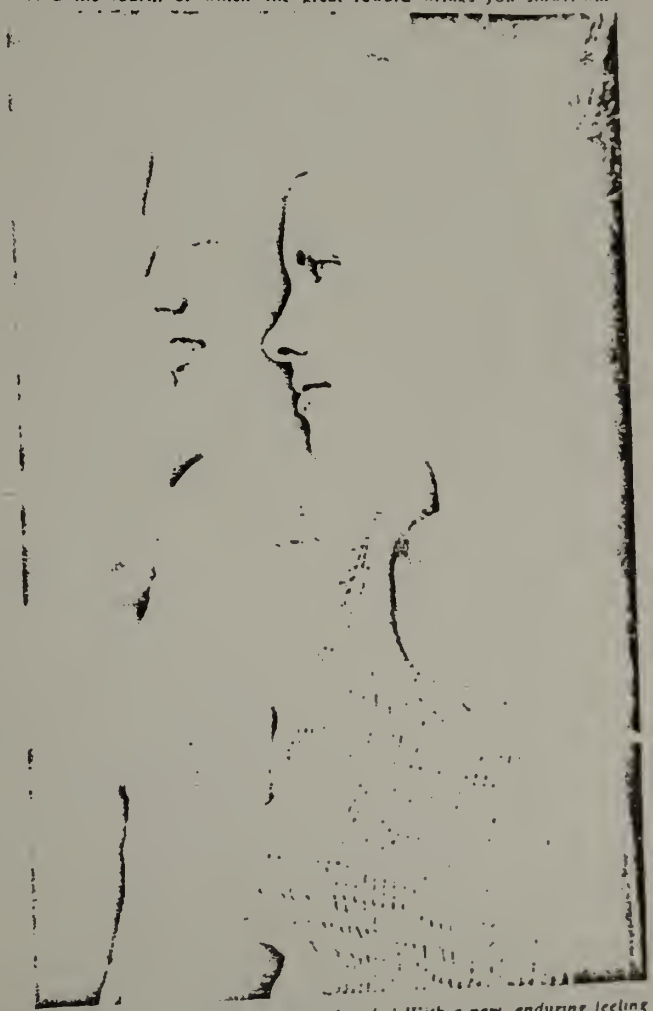
Thus, the depression... indecision... loss of confidence and all the other emotional symptoms you feel are all caused by OVER-SENSITIZED nerves! And the churning stomach... palpitating heart... never-ending headaches and all the other physical nervous-symptoms you feel are—again—all caused by OVER-SENSITIZED nerves!

And therefore the way to treat ALL these symptoms is NOT with drugs... NOT with shock... NOT with medical formulations or hospitalizations at all! *The way to treat these nerves is to change the poisonous-thoughts that are rubbing them raw!*

And this is done (as proven by this internationally-famed physician on thousands of patients) in four simple steps! The first of which *stops nervous symptoms (both physical and emotional) from multiplying from that moment on!* The second of which *serves to tranquilize and quiet down those over-sensitized nerves far more powerfully (and permanently) than any drug a pharmacist could ever give you!*

The third of which lets you stop fighting those symptoms (which only intensifies them in an ever-increasing spiral of sheer torment), and—instead—*leave them alone in an ingenious way that lets them start healing themselves!*

And the fourth of which—the great reward—*brings you slowly-but-*



surely back to the person you used to be! With a new, enduring feeling of control and confidence that nothing can destroy! So much so that this doctor actually comes right out and states bluntly: "*The advice given here will definitely cure you, if you only follow it*"!

In Fact, Case History After Case History Proves That Cure May Be So Dramatically Quick That Your Friends And Family Will Beg You To Tell Them Your Secret!

Once again, it doesn't matter what physical or emotional symptoms you are now suffering from . . how "deeply entrenched" they are . . . how long you have been plagued by them . . . how "old" or "weak" or "out-of-control" you may feel today! *Here is specific, step-by-immediate-step advice that will* (again to quote directly from the doctor) *"banish every unwelcome sensation and regain peace of mind and body"!*

For example:

The two-minute self-treatment (you perform one ingenious little action with your chest) *that ends sudden panic seizures on the spot—*

WHAT OTHERS SAY:

"...helped me so much and released me from the particular hell I have been living in since my breakdown six years ago."

"I think of Dr. Weekes with admiration and deep gratitude, as I am sure thousands of other people are doing."

"Looking back now I am amazed at the progress I have made in such a comparatively short time."

"It would be no exaggeration to add that your book saved my life."

"The method you give for cure of nervous conditions is so effective—and so simple—I cannot think why, out of all the professional people I have seen and all the books I have read in an effort to find a cure, nothing remotely like your system has been suggested to me.

"The great reassurance you give about the distressing physical symptoms of a disturbed nervous system is one of the greatest benefits to be derived from your book."

"You cannot possibly imagine what a relief it is to be able to view life normally again, instead of fear-panic all the while."

"I cannot describe the emotion I felt to find, at last, someone who really understood the problem, and to hear her say the condition can be cured. . . . If only this understanding person had the time to take all sufferers under her wing."

"I would like you to know that my nervous condition has so greatly improved through the advice gleaned from your most precious and invaluable book . . . that all symptoms have now disappeared and I rarely need Librium or sleeping capsules."

"My physician is amazed at my progress and of course I showed him your book which he borrowed and read thoroughly and is now recommending to other patients in like circumstances."

"My wife has made a vast improvement since using your book and now feels for the first time like getting away from the hospital altogether. I'm sure if she had had your treatment in earlier years she would never have had to go into the hospital at all."

WHAT THE PUBLISHER SAYS:

HOPE AND HELP FOR YOUR NERVES *has sold over 250,000 copies and has been endorsed by medical and mental-health associations throughout the world. Millions of Americans have heard Dr. Weekes on television and radio shows and have read excerpts from the book which recently appeared in* Reader's Digest. *If you are one of the many whose nerves are on edge and who sometimes feel panic and don't know why, this remarkable book was written for you. The reader discovers the simple treatment the author recommends for the dreaded and mystifying experiences known as "nerves"—indecision, suggestibility, feelings of panic, sleeplessness, loss of confidence, unreality, depression, and countless other recognized feelings of ill health.*

including all their side effects such as dizziness, pins and needles, involuntary stiffening of the joints, inability to breathe, and all the rest.

That "lump in the throat that won't go away"—*how to banish it in minutes . . . and enjoy eating any food you wish to once again!*

Physical weakness—perhaps the most dreaded of all symptoms—and (surprisingly) perhaps *the fastest of all to banish!*

How to deal with the twin monsters of fatigue and guilt! And leave behind emotional exhaustion . . . morning depression . . . thoughts that once raced around and around in your mind without cessation! (And leave them all behind—*for good!*)

Why so many patients who tried these simple techniques *actually came out of their nervous sicknesses as far finer and stronger people than they ever were before!*

How to recover from chronic tension caused by an insoluable problem! The only sane way to overcome it. How to avoid unnecessary suffering, for both yourself and others! And, perhaps, *actually turn your worst defeat into crowning success!*

The surest and most permanent way to cure obsessions!

How to tap the forces of Nature, every morning, *that are just waiting to cure you!*

How to bring happiness back into your everyday life! Not by waiting for some great event or reward . . *but simply by developing the eyes to see joy in the little things all around you!*

How to beat insomnia! Again, specific, proven step-by-step instructions! Ten different aids that may have you waking up tomorrow morning as fresh as a baby, with eight full hours of blissful sleep replenishing every cell in your body!

And—the final goal: How to develop the kind of nervous control that automatically turns panic off the instant it starts! That frees you forever from "nerve-crutches" such as drugs or alcohol! That lets you pick up your life again from the point where over-sensitized nerves forced you to abandon it, with absolute confidence that you now have the poise and self-possession to accomplish the goals you have always wanted!

No Wonder This Great Self-Help Volume Is Already A Best-Seller In Nine Foreign Nations, As Well As The United States! And It Is Yours To Read From Cover To Cover—Entirely At Our Risk!

The choice is yours. This is a book for people who mean business. It costs you nothing! We take all the risk! Fair enough? Why not send in the coupon—TODAY!

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Gentlemen: Please rush me a copy of HOPE AND HELP FOR YOUR NERVES, #80035, by Claire Weekes, M.D.! I enclose $6.98 in full payment. In addition, I understand that I may examine this book for a full 30 days entirely at your risk. If at the end of that time, I am not satisfied, I will simply return the book to you for every cent of my money back.

Enclosed is check or M.O. for $_____

YOU MAY CHARGE MY: ☐ MASTER CHARGE

Acc't #_____

Inter Bank #_____ (Find above your name)

Expiration date of my card_____

OR YOU MAY CHARGE MY: ☐ BANKAMERICARD

Acc't #_____

Expiration date of my card_____

Name_____
Please print

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR. CLAIRE WEEKES became interested in the problems of nervous illness when she observed in her medical practice that those who suffered most suffered "nervously." Dr. Weekes is Consulting Physician to the Rachel Forster Hospital in Sydney, Australia. She has written articles for popular magazines in England and has appeared widely on English television.

Dr. Weekes has appeared with Mike Douglas, Arlene Francis, Barry Farber and many other U.S. radio and TV shows.

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WASHINGTONVILLE

To be fully effective the Washingtonville simulation requires at least two hours of a group's full attention. The first hour is spent role playing, and the second hour is devoted to clarifying and discussing the cultural assumptions that were observed to surface during the role play.

At the end of the role play period each player will be asked to comment upon the assumptions he/she brought to the role and the feelings and difficulties he/she experienced in playing the role. Also, he/she will be asked to express the assumptions he/she felt the other role players were making toward his/her role character. Then the observers will comment on the assumptions and interactions that they saw occurring.

In reporting observations each commentator will use the role player's role name rather than his/her actual name.

Clearly, there is no predetermined correct way to play a given role. Simply play it as you see it.

Roles

Melissa Cathers - 31 year old black female. Four years as social science teacher, two years at Washingtonville Junior High.

William Anderson - 47 year old white male. Science teacher for 14 years, ten years at Washingtonville Junior High. Tenured.

Maria Del Fuego - 37 year old chicano female. Entering second year as math teacher at Washingtonville Junior High.

Alan Jessup - 25 year old white male. First year teacher in language arts.

Situation

Poll-takers and realtors refer to Washingtonville as "a transition area." The population is 22% black, 13% Spanish speaking, and 65% white. Every year more whites move away. The school reflects the

population distribution of the area.

WJH comprises 424 students in grades 7 and 8. Your team is responsible for 106 students, from both grades. You are meeting for the first time as a team; although Bill and Melissa worked together on the same team last year. The agenda is to deal with the Superintendent's memo of August 30, 1972.

H I G H V I E W

SCHOOLS 1374 Gray, Lincoln, PR.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Office of the Superintendent

TO: Teaching Teams

RE: Your Team's Learning Concerns

August 30, 1972

As part of its summer agenda, the Curriculum Task Group developed the attached list of Learning Concerns for consideration by each teaching team.

I request that each team use the attached list to develop its own list of Learning Concerns at its pre-opening planning session. Specifically, I am asking you to:

1. cross out the listed concerns which do not apply to your team or students

2. expand into several items those items on the guideline list which you feel are too general

3. add items which you feel are appropriate to your team or students

4. once your team's concerns have been established, prioritize the items by assigning to each a number from 1 to 10--ten indicating the highest priority.

H I G H V I E W

SCHOOLS 1374 Gray, Lincoln, PR.

Learning Concerns identified by the Curriculum Task Group:

___	1	community relations	___	15	field trips
___	2	black wall	___	16	establishing basic values
___	3	sex education	___	17	interpersonal relations
___	4	three R's	___	18	learning contracts
___	5	school calendar	___	19	survival
___	6	parent-teacher liason	___	20	testing
___	7	grading	___	21	scheduling
___	8	grouping	___	22	materials
___	9	student rights	___	23	drug education
___	10	teacher rights	___	24	Spanish
___	11	parent right	___	25	vocational training
___	12	discipline	___	26	ethnic studies
___	13	homework	___	27	nutrition
___	14	dress code	___	28	hall passes

APPENDIX B

THE WORKSHOP EVALUATION INSTRUMENT

WORKSHOP EVALUATION

Name _____

Date _____

Though a bit weird and seemingly bulky, this form is quickly completed. The purpose of it is to find out how you judge factors of cross-cultural effectiveness. Simply mark the space between the dots that best represents your gut response to each pair of words under each capitalized word. Be sure to mark every pair of response words under every capitalized word, for example:

TEACHER

mild	:	:	✓	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	✓	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	✓	:	:	:	:	little
bad	:	:	✓	:	:	:	:	:	good
sweet	:	✓	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

---

1. LEARN

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

2. INSIGHT

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

3. LISTENING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

4. COMPETENCE

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

5. FRIENDLINESS

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

6. UNDERSTATEMENT

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sweet

7. FLEXIBILITY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sweet

8. PRIDE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

9. EMPATHY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	big
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

10. RESPECT

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

11. OPENNESS

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

12. CURIOSITY

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

13. PARENT

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

14. KNOWLEDGE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sweet

15. CALMNESS

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

16. ENTRY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

17. SELF-KNOWLEDGE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

18. TALKING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sweet

19. TASK

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

20. CONTACT

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

21. NAMING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

22. SYMPATHY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

23. MIXING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

24. SENSITIVITY

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

25. SHARING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

26. ACCEPTANCE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sweet

27. APPEARANCE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

28. INQUIRY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

29. INDIVIDUAL

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

30. UNDERSTANDING

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sweet

31. COOPERATION

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

32. RISK-TAKING

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

33. HONESTY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sour	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sweet

34. SECURITY

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	sour

35. MODERATION

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: good
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

36. SINCERITY

harsh	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: mild
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

37. LANGUAGE

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
weak	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: strong
big	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: little
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

38. TRADITION

mild	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: harsh
strong	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: weak
little	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: big
good	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: bad
sweet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: sour

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